# NLWJC-Sotomayor-Box0009-Folder00003

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Jonathan H. Becker to Robin M. Roland at 18:34:01.00. Subject: where are you. (1 page)	11/17/1998	P6/b(6)
002. email	Tania I. Lopez to [list] at 14:51:00.00. Subject: Invitation. [partial] (1 page)	11/19/1998	P6/b(6)
003. email	Tania I. Lopez to [list] at 02:48:20 PM. Subject: Invitation. [partial] (1 page)	11/19/1998	P6/b(6)
004. email	Douglas J. Band to cmills@oxygen.com at 13:25:56.00. Subject: Re: <no subject="">. (3 pages)</no>	12/02/1999	P6/b(6)

### **COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records

Automated Records Management System [Email]

WHO ([Sotomayor])

OA/Box Number: 500000

#### FOLDER TITLE:

[10/07/1998 - 06/06/2000]

2009-1007-F

### RESTRICTION CODES

# Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- Freedom of Information Act [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Maritza Rivera 10/07/98 05:41:50 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP cc: Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP, Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP, Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

NPRC called to ask whether there will be a swearing in ceremony for Sonia Sotomayor as Judge for the US Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit. Does anyone have info on this?

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Maria E. Soto 10/07/98 05:50:47 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

check with personnel (veronica) and/or leg affairs (virginia r)
------ Forwarded by Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP on 10/07/98
05:44 PM ------

Maritza Rivera 10/07/98 05:41:50 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP cc: Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP, Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP, Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

NPRC called to ask whether there will be a swearing in ceremony for Sonia Sotomayor as Judge for the US Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit. Does anyone have info on this?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Maritza Rivera ( CN=Maritza Rivera/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-OCT-1998 18:09:57.00

SUBJECT: Re: Sonia Sotomayor

TO: Mickey Ibarra ( CN=Mickey Ibarra/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ: UNKNOWN

#### TEXT:

I dropped her and Virginia Rustique an e-mail who then e-mailed counsel's office. I am hopeful to have an answer soon. Thank you for responding so quickly! If you like I will keep you posted on whatever I find out.

Mickey Ibarra 10/07/98 06:04:32 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Sonia Sotomayor

I know nothing on this. I would suggest calling Veronica in OPP for advice.

Maritza Rivera 10/07/98 05:51:39 PM Record Type: Record

To: Veronica DeLaGarza/WHO/EOP, Virginia N. Rustique/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

Can anyone answer the question below? Thank you.
----- Forwarded by Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP on 10/07/98
05:52 PM -----

Maria E. Soto 10/07/98 05:50:47 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

check with personnel (veronica) and/or leg affairs (virginia r)
----- Forwarded by Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP on 10/07/98
05:44 PM ------

Maritza Rivera 10/07/98 05:41:50 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP cc: Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP, Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP, Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

NPRC called to ask whether there will be a swearing in ceremony for Sonia Sotomayor as Judge for the US Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit. Does anyone have info on this?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Mickey Ibarra ( CN=Mickey Ibarra/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 7-OCT-1998 18:05:45.00

SUBJECT: Re: Sonia Sotomayor

TO: Maritza Rivera ( CN=Maritza Rivera/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ: UNKNOWN

### TEXT:

I know nothing on this. I would suggest calling Veronica in OPP for advice.

```
RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)
CREATOR: Stacy E. Reynolds ( CN=Stacy E. Reynolds/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )
CREATION DATE/TIME: 9-OCT-1998 15:36:33.00
SUBJECT: Senate Confirmation 10/2
TO: Randall S. Lewis ( CN=Randall S. Lewis/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Dana B. Ott ( CN=Dana B. Ott/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Christine Puffer ( CN=Christine Puffer/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Rick T. Foss ( CN=Rick T. Foss/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Brian R. Kennedy ( CN=Brian R. Kennedy/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Suzanne Moreno ( CN=Suzanne Moreno/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Meredith E. Cabe ( CN=Meredith E. Cabe/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: David G. Ranowsky ( CN=David G. Ranowsky/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Jacqueline L. Jackson (CN=Jacqueline L. Jackson/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ UNKNOWN ]
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Diane M. Mercurio ( CN=Diane M. Mercurio/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Steven Mancuso ( CN=Steven Mancuso/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Lisa M. Winston ( CN=Lisa M. Winston/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Linda B. Oliver ( CN=Linda B. Oliver/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
TO: Virginia R. Canter ( CN=Virginia R. Canter/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Paul Arendal ( CN=Paul Arendal/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TEXT:
I don't know if you already received these, but these are the confirmation
e-mails I received while I was in Atlanta.
----- Forwarded by Stacy E. Reynolds/WHO/EOP on 10/09/98
03:35 PM ------
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VIRGINIA N. RUSTIQUE 10/02/98 11:28:10 AM Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Senate Confirmation 10/2

Today, the Senate confirmed:

Sonia Sotomayor, of New York, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit (by a vote of 68-28).

### Message Sent

To:

Bob J. Nash/WHO/EOP

Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP

Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP

Dorian V. Weaver/WHO/EOP

Phu D. Huynh/WHO/EOP

Laura K. Demeo/WHO/EOP

David R Thomas/OVP @ OVP

Gino J. Del Sesto/WHO/EOP

Virginia N. Rustique/WHO/EOP

Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP

Jessica L. Gibson/WHO/EOP

Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP

Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP

Douglas J. Band/WHO/EOP

Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP

Walker F. Bass/WHO/EOP

Mae E. Haney/WHO/EOP

Roger S. Ballentine/WHO/EOP

Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP

Mark Childress/WHO/EOP

Ryland M. Willis/WHO/EOP

Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP

William K. Winkler/WHO/EOP

Stacy E. Reynolds/WHO/EOP

Marty J. Hoffmann/WHO/EOP

Julia M. Payne/WHO/EOP

Heather M. Marabeti/WHO/EOP

Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP

Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP

Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP

Janelle E. Erickson/WHO/EOP

Kay Casstevens/OVP @ OVP

----- Forwarded by Stacy E. Reynolds/WHO/EOP on 10/09/98 03:35 PM ------

VIRGINIA N. RUSTIQUE 10/07/98 08:34:38 PM Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Senate Confirmations 10/7

Today, 10/7, the Senate confirmed:

Joy Harjo, of New Mexico, to be a Member of the Nat'l Council on the Arts;

Joan Specter, of Pennsylvania, to be a Member of the Nat'l Council on the Arts.

### Message Sent

To:\_\_\_\_\_

Bob J. Nash/WHO/EOP Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP

Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP

Dorian V. Weaver/WHO/EOP

Phu D. Huynh/WHO/EOP

Laura K. Demeo/WHO/EOP

David R Thomas/OVP @ OVP

Gino J. Del Sesto/WHO/EOP

Virginia N. Rustique/WHO/EOP

Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP

Jessica L. Gibson/WHO/EOP

Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP

Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP

Douglas J. Band/WHO/EOP

Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP

Walker F. Bass/WHO/EOP

Mae E. Haney/WHO/EOP

Roger S. Ballentine/WHO/EOP

Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP

Mark Childress/WHO/EOP

Ryland M. Willis/WHO/EOP

Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP

William K. Winkler/WHO/EOP

Stacy E. Reynolds/WHO/EOP

Marty J. Hoffmann/WHO/EOP

Julia M. Payne/WHO/EOP

Heather M. Marabeti/WHO/EOP

Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP

Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP

Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP

Janelle E. Erickson/WHO/EOP

Kay Casstevens/OVP @ OVP

Lisa M. Winston/WHO/EOP

----- Forwarded by Stacy E. Reynolds/WHO/EOP on 10/09/98 03:35 PM -----

VIRGINIA N. RUSTIQUE 10/08/98 10:06:24 PM Record Type: Record To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Senate Confirmations 10/8

Today, 10/8, the Senate confirmed the following individuals:

William Fletcher, of California, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit (57-41);

H. Dean Buttram, Jr. of Alabama, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama;

Inge Prytz Johnson, of Alabama, to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Alabama;

Robert Bruce King, of West Virginia, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fourth Circuit.

### Message Sent

To:\_\_\_\_\_

Bob J. Nash/WHO/EOP

Lawrence J. Stein/WHO/EOP

Tracey E. Thornton/WHO/EOP

Dorian V. Weaver/WHO/EOP

Phu D. Huynh/WHO/EOP

Laura K. Demeo/WHO/EOP

David R Thomas/OVP @ OVP

Gino J. Del Sesto/WHO/EOP

Virginia N. Rustique/WHO/EOP

Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP

Jessica L. Gibson/WHO/EOP

Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP

Sara M. Latham/WHO/EOP

Douglas J. Band/WHO/EOP

Marsha Scott/WHO/EOP

Walker F. Bass/WHO/EOP

Mae E. Haney/WHO/EOP

Roger S. Ballentine/WHO/EOP

Peter G. Jacoby/WHO/EOP

Mark Childress/WHO/EOP

Ryland M. Willis/WHO/EOP

Kevin S. Moran/WHO/EOP

William K. Winkler/WHO/EOP

Stacy E. Reynolds/WHO/EOP

Marty J. Hoffmann/WHO/EOP

Julia M. Payne/WHO/EOP

Heather M. Marabeti/WHO/EOP

Karen Tramontano/WHO/EOP

Charles M. Brain/WHO/EOP

Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP

Janelle E. Erickson/WHO/EOP

Kay Casstevens/OVP @ OVP

Lisa M. Winston/WHO/EOP

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)
CREATOR: Veronica DeLaGarza ( CN=Veronica DeLaGarza/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )
CREATION DATE/TIME:22-OCT-1998 22:02:12.00
SUBJECT: Re: Confirmations
TO: Maritza Rivera ( CN=Maritza Rivera/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TEXT:
Romulo Diaz - Asst. Administrator-Adm. & resource Mgt. -EPA
Ida Luz Castro - Chair and Comm. - EEOC
Michael Reyna - Member - Fram Credit Adm. Board
Patricia Montoya - Commissioner, Children, Youth and Families- HHS
Saul Ramirez - Dep. Sec. - HUD
Sonia Sotomayor - Judge 2nd Circuit
Henry Solano - Solicitor, - Labor
John Sepulveda Deputy Director - OPM
James Vela Ledesma, Amb. Gabonese Republic (he's career foreign service)
Simon Ferro-Amb. Panama
Jose de Jesus Rivera, U.S. Attorney, Arizona
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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL) CREATOR: Maritza Rivera ( CN=Maritza Rivera/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] ) CREATION DATE/TIME:28-OCT-1998 10:54:20.00 SUBJECT: Sonia Sotomayor TO: Veronica DeLaGarza ( CN=Veronica DeLaGarza/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] ) READ: UNKNOWN TEXT: I need to find out whether there will be a swearing in ceremony for Sonia Sotomayor and if not whether WH will consider having one. Alex Rodriguez has been inquiring about this and I need to get back to him. It would not be a bad idea to do this since it would highlight a judicial appointment which the community has been pressing hard for. Please let me know if you have any info or if I should be speaking with someone else ASAP. Thank you! ----- Forwarded by Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP on 10/28/98 10:50 AM -----Maritza Rivera 10/07/98 05:51:39 PM Record Type: Record Veronica DeLaGarza/WHO/EOP, Virginia N. Rustique/WHO/EOP To: cc: Subject: Sonia Sotomayor Can anyone answer the question below? Thank you. ----- Forwarded by Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP on 10/07/98 05:52 PM ------Maria E. Soto 10/07/98 05:50:47 PM Record Type: Record Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP To: CC: Sonia Sotomayor Subject: check with personnel (veronica) and/or leg affairs (virginia r)

check with personnel (veronica) and/or leg affairs (virginia r)
------ Forwarded by Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP on 10/07/98
05:44 PM -------

Maritza Rivera 10/07/98 05:41:50 PM Record Type: Record

To: Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP, Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP, Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP cc: Marjorie Tarmey/WHO/EOP, Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP, Mindy E. Myers/WHO/EOP

Subject: Sonia Sotomayor

NPRC called to ask whether there will be a swearing in ceremony for Sonia Sotomayor as Judge for the US Court of Appeals, 2nd Circuit. Does anyone have info on this?

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jeffrey L. Farrow ( CN=Jeffrey L. Farrow/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:31-OCT-1998 17:38:37.00

SUBJECT: Re: D'Amato

TO: Mickey Ibarra ( CN=Mickey Ibarra/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ: UNKNOWN

CC: Fred DuVal ( CN=Fred DuVal/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ: UNKNOWN

### TEXT:

Also, FYI D'Amato does have some NY Puerto Rican support. Sen. Efrain Gonzalez (D) endorsed him after he got Sotomayor (our nominee) confirmed for the Circuit Court. D'Amato has been helpful to Serrano and others.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Mark A. Kitchens ( CN=Mark A. Kitchens/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME: 2-NOV-1998 06:52:28.00

SUBJECT: Re: LA Times Articles

TO: Leslie Bernstein ( CN=Leslie Bernstein/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Les,
Here ya go

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS SEPTEMBER 25, 1998, FRIDAY, PM CYCLE

Group launches new focus on women in politics

By MIKE GLOVER, Associated Press Writer

A group promoting women in politics is asking the country to determine which women would be capable of running for president.

The White House Project on Thursday announced plans to mail 1 million ballots listing 20 prominent women and asking people to pick five they think are capable . of seeking the White House.

The group also plans to place ballots in magazines such as Parade, Glamour,
Jane, Essence, and People and on its Web site:
www.thewhitehouseproject.org.

"The goal is to get a conversation going that changes the climate," said Marie Wilson, head of the project, a New York-based nonpartisan group.

Ms. Wilson noted that while women account for 52 percent of the population, they make up 9 percent of the Senate, 12 percent of the House and 6 percent of the nation's governors.

U.S. Sen. Olympia Snowe of Maine is among those on the list.

Also listed on the ballot are UNICEF head Carol Bellamy, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Carol Browner, AFL-CIO Executive Vice President

Linda Chavez-Thompson and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The ballot also includes American Red Cross President Elizabeth Dole, deputy
White House Chief of Staff Maria Echaveste, Children's Defense Fund founder and
President Marian Wright Edelman, U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif.,

Maxwell

House President Ann Fudge, Ohio State University College of Medicine Dean Bernadine Healy, U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison, R-Texas, and Dr. Mae C. Jemison, the first black woman to travel in space.

The ballot also includes Gen. Claudia Kennedy of the U.S. Army, U.S. Sen.

Mary Landrieu, D-La., Cherokee Nation head Wilma Mankiller, attorney Angela Oh,

who serves on President Clinton's racial advisory panel, University of Pennsylvania President Judith Rodin, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala and New Jersey Gov. Christine Todd Whitman.

Women currently running for office were intentionally left off the list to avoid clouding the discussion with partisan politics, Ms. Wilson said.

The ballots will be distributed by mail beginning Friday in California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio and Washington.

Ms. Wilson said the project has been in the works for a year.

END

/m kitchens

LOS ANGELES TIMES JULY 28, 1998

Frustrated Latinos Lobby Clinton for a Place on High Court; False Rumor of Justice Stevens' Resignation Reignited Efforts. But President Resists a Commitment.

By DAVID G. SAVAGE, TIMES STAFF WRITER

For almost a decade, White House lawyers under Presidents Bush and Clinton

have been quietly searching for a Latino jurist who could be named to the U.S.

Supreme Court.

Such a nomination not only would be hailed as a historic first, but it could give a major political boost to the president's party, because nearly one in

nine Americans has a Latino heritage.

But the lengthy, and so far fruitless, search is becoming a source of frustration for many Latinos who say they have heard lots of promises but have not seen much action.

"Quite frankly, I don't think they have ever been serious about it," said Antonia Hernandez, executive director of the Mexican American Legal Defense and

Educational Fund in Los Angeles.

Though advisors to Bush and Clinton mentioned Latino candidates as top

contenders for previous appointments, "I don't believe a Latino has yet been under serious consideration," she said.

The issue flared anew with rumors that 78-year-old Justice John Paul Stevens planned to retire at the end of the court term. White House judge-pickers scrambled to update their files of potential nominees, including several veteran Latino jurists.

But the rumors were wrong. The still-spry Stevens announced that he would be back in the fall for his 23rd year on the bench.

The latest disappointment for Latino leaders has raised the specter that the Clinton administration will end with no Latino on the court. Neither Stevens nor Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, 73, the oldest members of the court, is seen as likely to retire in the next two years.

"We were disappointed the first time, when Ruth Bader Ginsburg was chosen," said Carlos G. Ortiz of the Hispanic National Bar Assn. "We were disillusioned and outraged the second time around," when Stephen G. Breyer was named to the court in 1994.

"We are extremely confident we will get the nod the next time around," said
Ortiz, a New York corporate lawyer. "It would be unimaginable for us to be bypassed a third time. If he doesn't get another chance, Clinton's successor--whether a Republican or Democrat--will seize this opportunity."

The high-pressure lobbying has been heard within the administration. "They have been persistent, very persistent," one official said of the Latino community.

The lobbying, however, also has created something of a dilemma for the White House. Although administration officials say they are anxious to promote a Latino jurist, they do not want to commit themselves--or be seen as committed in advance--to choosing from only one list of candidates.

Seeking a Latino jurist for the high court "is a priority for the administration. It would be great if we can find the right person," said new White House Deputy Chief of Staff Maria Echaveste. But, she added, many factors come into play in picking a new justice. "It is inappropriate to ask the president to commit to a particular constituency. When there is a vacancy, we want to look at all the candidates."

Until the early 1970s, nominees to the Supreme Court often came from political posts (such as Sen. Hugo Black in 1937 and California Gov. Earl

-

Warren

in 1953), or were presidential advisors (such as Byron White, President Kennedy's deputy attorney general, and Arthur Goldberg, his Labor secretary).

But in recent decades, most high court nominees have been veteran appeals court judges. Both of Clinton's choices--Justices Ginsburg (from the U.S. court of appeals in Washington) and Breyer (Boston) fit that mold.

If nothing else, a judge's record of written opinions gives the president and Senate confidence that they know what they are getting.

White House officials say they maintain a list of a dozen or more possible nominees to the Supreme Court. They include, for example, federal appeals court Judge David S. Tatel, 56, a former civil rights attorney who is blind.

When Clinton took office, his advisors set out to create a cadre of experienced Latino jurists on the lower courts. Administration officials say they have made progress but still lack what one called "a true star."

Nonetheless, several now are seen as potential Supreme Court nominees.

They include U.S. appeals court Judges Fortunado P. Benavides of Austin, Texas; Jose A. Cabranes of New Haven, Conn.; and Carlos F. Lucero of Denver; as well as U.S. District Judges Ruben Castillo of Chicago; Martha Vazquez of

Santa

Fe, N.M.; Richard Paez of Los Angeles; and Sonia Sotomayor of New York.

Clinton has nominated Paez and Sotomayor to move up to their regional appeals courts.

The Hispanic National Bar Assn. gave the White House its short list of six candidates for the Supreme Court. Besides Benavides and Cabranes, it included

New Mexico Supreme Court Justice Joseph F. Baca, former U.S. Equal Employment
Opportunity Commission Chairman Gilbert Casellas, former California Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso and Los Angeles lawyer Vilma S. Martinez.

Had Stevens retired, Cabranes would have been the favorite to succeed him.

Cabranes, 58, was born in Mayaquez, Puerto Rico. His family moved to the South Bronx in New York City when he was 5. He graduated from Columbia University and Yale Law School, and in 1972 was a founder of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund.

In 1979, he was general counsel of Yale when President Carter nominated him to be a federal district judge. Now a U.S. appeals court judge, Cabranes

-

was

considered for the Supreme Court by Bush's advisors in 1990 and 1991, and again

by Clinton's team in 1993 and 1994.

Despite Cabranes' credentials, he attracts little enthusiasm among Democrats and liberal activists.

"He's the candidate the Republicans are pushing," said Nan Aron, director of the Alliance for Justice, a liberal advocacy group. "Even among the Hispanic groups, he has his promoters and his detractors."

C. Boyden Gray, Bush's White House counsel, said Cabranes was highly regarded in the Republican administration. "If there had been a second term for Bush, he would have been given very careful consideration for the next vacancy," Gray said.

A Clinton administration official characterized Cabranes as "pretty conservative," but added, "With the Republican-controlled Senate the way it is, that may work in his favor."

For their part, Latino leaders say they would enthusiastically unite behind Cabranes if he were nominated.

They cite the example of Ginsburg, who by 1993 had compiled a moderate record on the U.S. court of appeals. Her decisions often had disappointed liberal activists and women's rights lawyers who once had worked with her at the American Civil Liberties Union. However, when Clinton selected her for the Supreme Court, they put aside their quibbles and strongly endorsed her

Latino leaders also point to history and say the elevation of a Latino justice would have enormous symbolic importance.

In 1916, Louis D. Brandeis became the first Jewish justice, a landmark breakthrough at the time. In 1967, President Johnson named Thurgood Marshall as

the first black justice. And in 1981, Sandra Day O'Connor became the first woman

on the high court when President Reagan appointed her.

"It is time, and really past time, for a Latino on the court," said Martin R.

Castro, a Chicago lawyer who chairs the Hispanic Bar Assn. committee that screened the potential nominees. "It is time we are finally allowed to sit

the table as full partners."

END

/m kitchens

nomination.

LOS ANGELES TIMES JULY 7, 1998

Latinos Struggle for Role in National Leadership; Politics: Uneven Population Distribution and Lure of the Private Sector Thin Ranks of Potential Candidates.

By MARK Z. BARABAK, TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

At a time when Latino influence is growing in national politics, led by huge strides in California, the ranks of Latino leadership at the national level

strides in California, the ranks of Latino leadership at the national level remain strikingly thin.

There are no Latinos in the 100-member U.S. Senate and haven't been for more than 20 years, since New Mexico Democrat Joseph Montoya was defeated in 1976.

There are only 18 Latino voting members of the 435-seat House of Representatives, 11 of them from just two states, Texas and California. By contrast, African Americans, who make up about the same share of the national population, hold 39 seats.

In the Clinton administration, U.N. Ambassador Bill Richardson will be the sole Latino in the president's 14-member Cabinet, assuming his nomination as Energy secretary wins Senate confirmation as expected. That compares with two .
Latino members of the Cabinet in Clinton's first term, Transportation Secretary .
Federico Pena and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros.

Back in 1992, when he first ran for president, Clinton stood before Latino activists and pledged to build an ethnically diverse administration "that looks like America, that feels like America."

But to Raul Yzaguirre, the result seems more like a mixed bag.

"Compared to previous administrations, the Clinton administration looks very good. But compared to our expectations and the implied promises, it doesn't," said Yzagüirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, a Latino advocacy group in Washington.

Indeed, he added, "Compared to our aspirations, it looks pretty bad."

Population patterns help explain the phenomenon. But the broader question of whether Latinos are underrepresented in Washington is a classic half-empty/half-full debate.

"Both images can be true," argued Rodolfo de la Garza, a University of

Texas

political scientist. "There aren't enough Latinos in high national office . But

depending on your definition, there's never enough of anything."

With Latinos now the country's fastest-growing ethnic group--their number is

expected to more than double to a quarter of the population in 50 years--the

question of adequate representation is more than academic. It's also more than a

little touchy for a president reelected with 71% Latino support.

Witness the delicate dance surrounding Pena's exit from the Cabinet. The former Transportation secretary wanted to leave Washington last year, but agreed

to stay, switching jobs and becoming Energy secretary after pressure was applied

by Latino groups angry at losing a Cabinet voice. Richardson was nominated earlier this month to replace Pena.

Unfulfilled Expectations

As the game of musical Cabinet chairs suggests, the Clinton administration is highly sensitive to questions of inclusion and diversity.

"We've worked harder on this and more on this than any administration in history," said Ron Klain, chief of staff to Vice President Al Gore, whom activists credit with being particularly aggressive in recruitment efforts as he prepares to run for president in 2000. "Sure, we can do better, and we keep on

trying to do better."

But good intentions and campaign promises go only so far, just as deflated expectations and frustrated feelings explain only so much.

Although emotionalism rules many political discussions of race and ethnicity--and prejudice certainly hasn't gone away--experts mostly cite empirical reasons for why more Latinos aren't serving in top national jobs. One

explanation starts with the highly concentrated nature of the Latino population.

There are about 28.3 million Latinos in the United States, according to July

1996 census figures. More than half live in California and Texas. The result is

considerable clout in the nation's two most populous states--and considerably

less everywhere else.

In fact, in the handful of remaining states with 1 million or more Latino residents--New York, Illinois and Florida--the population, and Latino political power, is even more concentrated, largely in the major metropolitan areas

of New

.

York City, Chicago and Miami's Dade County.

The tactics needed to prevail in local politics, to break down doors that stand open for others, can make it difficult to build the broader base necessary

to achieve higher office. As a result, Latino politicians are sometimes pigeonholed as strictly ethnic figures.

"You have to be tough as hell. You have to keep banging away," said Mary Rose

Wilcox, a Latina member of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors whose district here in Phoenix is overwhelmingly Latino, black and Native American.

Forced to seem more strident, she suggested, "you lose your appeal to a wider audience."

Further diluting Latino clout are internal differences that belie the catchall Latino label. Republican-leaning Cuban Americans in Florida and mostly

Democratic Puerto Ricans in New York and Mexican Americans in the Southwest "share a lot of commonalities," said John Garcia, a University of Arizona expert

on Latino politics. "But there are some real distinctions" and often fierce competition over appointments and other political plums--a competition all the

more intense because the fighting is over a small piece of the pie.

But arguably the most important reason for Latinos' low profile on the national scene is the most prosaic. Latinos are a young community: The median

age is 26.4, compared with 34.6 for the overall population. Many are not citizens, or not yet eligible to vote, shrinking the most obvious base of support for fledgling candidates. Only about 6.6 million Latinos--roughly one in

four--were registered to vote as of the last estimate in November 1996.

Partly because of that, Latinos have started climbing the political ladder in

sizable numbers only within the last 20 years or so. Even in California, where

Latino political influence has soared, the phenomenon is relatively new, helped

along by term limits that ousted more senior state lawmakers in the last two

elections.

Latinos' relatively recent emergence on the political scene has meant a smaller pool of qualified--or willing--applicants from which to choose Cabinet

secretaries or fill other high-level government positions.

"Part of it is simply a matter of getting your ticket punched," said

Pachon, a researcher and head of the Tomas Rivera Institute at Claremont Graduate University. "That takes time."

And it takes longer to reach the top from the low rungs on the ladder. "Normally when vacancies arise, there is an effort to turn to those in the line

of succession," said Leon Panetta, former White House chief of staff. "There's a

comfort factor involved where you've worked with somebody, where you know that individual."

Panetta, who left the White House last year, now believes that the administration could have done a better job looking beyond the obvious lists of

candidates. "There's no question there should be more Latinos in key positions

throughout the administration, " he said.

Ironically, though, today's pool of prospective Latino job applicants as well as political candidates may be diminished, thanks to an explosion of opportunity

in other fields.

"Corporate America has snatched up a lot of folks," said Guillermo Rodriguez,

head of the San Francisco-based Latino Issues Forum. "On everything from benefits to salary, government can't compete."

Moreover, there is a pettiness and personal viciousness to politics as now practiced in Washington that puts many people off.

"There are people who are bright and sharp and would be good material," said

Fernando Torres-Gil of UCLA's public policy school, "but they don't want to put up with the abuse and the extraordinary scrutiny."

Still, as more Latinos win political office or pursue public policy careers.

the opportunities for advancement are likely to improve. Torres-Gil, for

believes that too much attention is focused on counting faces in the higher-profile Cabinet positions.

"If you look at the sub-Cabinet, the special assistant and middle-level political appointments . . . you find a good number of Hispanic men and women

moving up the system," said the UCLA associate dean, who traced his own path

through the ranks from a special assistant job in the Carter administration to a

stint as Clinton's assistant Health and Human Services secretary.

Among prominent Latinos serving in the president's second term are George

Munoz, head of the Overseas Private Investment Corp; Aida Alvarez, head of the

Small Business Administration; Mickey Ibarra, the White House director of intergovernmental affairs; and Maria Echaveste, the incoming deputy White House

chief of staff. Louis Caldera, a former California assemblyman now heading the

national service program, was nominated in May to be secretary of the Army.

Echaveste, the daughter of itinerant California farm workers, is a particular

source of pride among Latino activists. Soon she will become the highest-ranking Latino official believed to ever have served inside the White House.

"This is not what you could call a 'soft' position, dealing with public organizations, public liaison," said Cisneros, now president of Los Angeles-based Univision, a Spanish-language TV network. "Everything from international affairs to nuclear policy to personnel matters to domestic policy goes through the chief of staff's office."

Invisible in Arizona

If Echaveste stands at one end of the proverbial pipeline, the other is here in Arizona, where Latinos have yet to gain the political clout commensurate with their growing population.

The state has nearly 1 million Latinos, the seventh-highest total in the country and more than 20% of Arizona's population. There is one Latino in the

state's six-member congressional delegation: Democrat Ed Pastor, whose district

lines were drawn by Republicans controlling the process to take in nearly two-thirds of the state's Latinos.

Yet there are no statewide elected Latino officials and no likely prospects

in sight. The Latino presence in the state Legislature has been stagnant for about 20 years.

"We haven't really evolved out of our districts," said Wilcox, the Maricopa County supervisor, noting that Latinos enjoy a strong presence in predominantly

rural areas with a longer tradition of Latino leadership, but not in major cities such as Phoenix and Tucson, where most voters live.

Statewide, Latino registration and turnout lag far behind those of whites,

with nothing like California's anti-illegal-immigration Proposition 187 to spur

participation or stir passions. Although an "English only" measure passed in

1988, "we really haven't had the galvanizing issues here that would bring Latinos out to the polls," said Earl de Berge, a nonpartisan pollster in Phoenix.

Latino political progress is also hindered by the fact that most are Democrats--among them all nine Latino state legislators. That makes advancement

difficult in this Republican-leaning state.

Arturo Gutierrez spent 13 years in the Legislature, seven as Democratic leader, before leaving in 1986 to form a Phoenix lobbying and public relations

firm. Like many activists, the veteran of the Chicano rights movement found his

fervor waning with time.

...

Thus, it was bittersweet watching from afar as Richardson was nominated for

Energy secretary and praised Clinton for having the best record on Latino issues

of any president in history.

"He's right of course," said Gutierrez with a dry chuckle that seemed to sum

up the ambivalence of many. "And isn't that sad?"

END

/m kitchens

LESLIE BERNSTEIN 10/31/98 03:09:02 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Mark A. Kitchens/WHO/EOP

CC:

Subject: .LA Times Articles

Hi Mark,

In one of my infrequent sweeps across the net to find articles on Maria, I found the following hits on the LA Times site. Could you have someone pull these and either email them or hardcopy them to me through inter-office? Thanks.

Article 1 of 3 found.

Ballot Asks for Best Woman to Seek Presidency;

Friday, September 25, 1998

Home Edition Section: PART A ID: 0980087350 Words: 176

Byline: Associated Press

A group promoting women in politics is asking the country to determine which

women would be capable of running for president.

Article 2 of 3 found.

Frustrated Latinos Lobby Clinton for a Place on High Court; National Perspective; False rumor of Justice Stevens' resignation reignited efforts. But president resists a commitment.; RACE: Tuesday, July 28, 1998 Home Edition Section: PART A ID: 0980068958 Words: 1026 Byline: DAVID G. SAVAGE TIMES STAFF WRITER For almost a decade, White House lawyers under Presidents Bush and Clinton have been quietly searching for a Latino jurist who could be named to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Article 3 of 3 found.

Latinos Struggle for Role in National Leadership;
Politics: Uneven population distribution and lure of the private sector thin

ranks of potential candidates.;

Tuesday, July 7, 1998 Home Edition Section: PART A ID: 0980062543 Words: 1626

Byline: MARK Z. BARABAK TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

At a time when Latino influence is growing in national politics, led by huge

strides in California, the ranks of Latino leadership at the national level remain strikingly thin.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Jonathan H. Becker to Robin M. Roland at 18:34:01.00. Subject: where are you. (1 page)	11/17/1998	P6/b(6)

### **COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records

Automated Records Management System [Email]

WHO ([Sotomayor])
OA/Box Number: 500000

#### FOLDER TITLE:

[10/07/1998 - 06/06/2000]

2009-1007-F ab696

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells {(b)(9) of the FOIA}

```
RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Robin M. Roland (CN=Robin M. Roland/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-NOV-1998 13:30:37.00

SUBJECT: Re: where are you

TO: jonathan h becker [ UNKNOWN ] )

READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:
Well, I am glad that you approve. I will probably be here all night.
Happy Studying!!!
```

### Robin

PS - Sotomayor was confirmed and Mike and Sarah went to the ceremony. They had a great time. You should call them because they were very excited about the experience.

```
RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL
                            (NOTES MAIL)
CREATOR: Tania I. Lopez ( CN=Tania I. Lopez/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )
CREATION DATE/TIME:19-NOV-1998 14:51:00.00
SUBJECT:
          Invitation
TO: Dario J. Gomez ( CN=Dario J. Gomez/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Melinda N. Bates ( CN=Melinda N. Bates/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Mickey Ibarra ( CN=Mickey Ibarra/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Dag Vega ( CN=Dag Vega/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Carmen B. Fowler ( CN=Carmen B. Fowler/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Ilia V. Velez ( CN=Ilia V. Velez/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Anthony R. Bernal ( CN=Anthony R. Bernal/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Alejandro G. Cabrera ( CN=Alejandro G. Cabrera/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Cynthia M. Jasso-Rotunno ( CN=Cynthia M. Jasso-Rotunno/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: ÛNKNOWN
TO: Moe Vela ( CN=Moe Vela/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Franklin F. Urteaga ( CN=Franklin F. Urteaga/OU=OSTP/O=EOP @ EOP [ OSTP ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Capricia P. Marshall ( CN=Capricia P. Marshall/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Janet Murguia ( CN=Janet Murguia/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Suzanne Moreno ( CN=Suzanne Moreno/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Maria Echaveste ( CN=Maria Echaveste/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Roger V. Salazar ( CN=Roger V. Salazar/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Miguel M. Bustos ( CN=Miguel M. Bustos/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Maritza Rivera ( CN=Maritza Rivera/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Brian A. Barreto ( CN=Brian A. Barreto/OU=OPD/O=EOP @ EOP [ OPD ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Irwin P. Raij ( CN=Irwin P. Raij/O=OVP @ OVP [ UNKNOWN ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Alejandra Y. Castillo ( CN=Alejandra Y. Castillo/OU=ONDCP/O=EOP @ EOP [ ONDCP ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Veronica DeLaGarza ( CN=Veronica DeLaGarza/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TO: Maria E. Soto ( CN=Maria E. Soto/OU=WHO/O=EOP @ EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TEXT:
Secretary Richardson invites you to attend a reception honoring the
Clinton Administration Hispanic appointees who were confirmed by the
```

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. email	Tania I. Lopez to [list] at 14:51:00.00. Subject: Invitation. [partial] (1 page)	11/19/1998	P6/b(6)

### **COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]

WHO ([Sotomayor])
OA/Box Number: 500000

#### FOLDER TITLE:

[10/07/1998 - 06/06/2000]

2009-1007-F ab696

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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  - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency |(b)(2) of the FOIA|
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information {(b)(4) of the FOIA}
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA] CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Senate during the month of October.

The honorees are:

Judge Sonia Sotomayor, US Court of Appeals, Second Circuit
Ida Castro, Chair, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Jose de Jesus Rivera, US Attorney for the State of Arizona
Saul Ramirez, Deputy Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development
Patricia Montoya, Commissioner of Children, Youth and Families, Department
of Health and Human Services
Henry Solano, Solicitor, Department of Labor
James Ledesma, Ambassador, Department of State
Simon Ferro, Ambassador, Department of State
John Sepulveda, Deputy Director, Office of Personnel Management
Romulo "Romy" Diaz, Assistant Administrator, Environmental Protection
Agency
Michael Reyna, Member, Farm Credit Administration Board

The "Latino Progress Into the Millennium" celebration will be held on Monday, November 23, 1998, at the National Academy of Sciences, 2100 C Street, NW. The formal portion of the program begins at 5:00 PM, with the reception to follow.

Please RSVP by November 20, 1998, by calling (b)(6).

\*Maritza- Please forward the invitation to any Latino staff that I might have inadvertently left off the distribution list. Thanks-

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. email	Tania I. Lopez to [list] at 02:48:20 PM. Subject: Invitation. [partial] (1 page)	11/19/1998	P6/b(6)

### **COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
WHO ([Sotomayor])
OA/Box Number: 500000

### FOLDER TITLE:

[10/07/1998 - 06/06/2000]

2009-1007-F

### RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions f(b)(8) of the FOIA
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA] CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL) CREATOR: Maria E. Soto ( CN=Maria E. Soto/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] ) CREATION DATE/TIME:19-NOV-1998 15:01:51.00 SUBJECT: Invitation TO: Jaime.Uzeta ( Jaime.Uzeta @ mail.doc.gov @ inet [ UNKNOWN ] ) READ: UNKNOWN TEXT: I RSVP for the three of us (you, mickey and I). Tania I. Lopez 11/19/98 02:48:20 PM Record Type: Record To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message cc: Subject: Invitation Secretary Richardson invites you to attend a reception honoring the Clinton Administration Hispanic appointees who were confirmed by the Senate during the month of October. The honorees are: Judge Sonia Sotomayor, US Court of Appeals, Second Circuit Ida Castro, Chair, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Jose de Jesus Rivera, US Attorney for the State of Arizona
Saul Ramirez, Deputy Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development
Patricia Montoya, Commissioner of Children, Youth and Families, Department of Health and Human Services Henry Solano, Solicitor, Department of Labor James Ledesma, Ambassador, Department of State Simon Ferro, Ambassador, Department of State
John Sepulveda, Deputy Director, Office of Personnel Management Romulo "Romy" Diaz, Assistant Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency Michael Reyna, Member, Farm Credit Administration Board The "Latino Progress Into the Millennium" celebration will be held on Monday, November 23, 1998, at the National Academy of Sciences, 2100 C Street, NW. The formal portion of the program begins at 5:00 PM, with the reception to follow. 003 Please RSVP by November 20, 1998, by calling \_\_\_(b)(6)\_\_\_ \*Maritza- Please forward the invitation to any Latino staff that I might have inadvertently left off the distribution list. Thanks-

Message Sent

To:
Maria E. Soto/WHO/EOP
Franklin F. Urteaga/OSTP/EOP
Veronica DeLaGarza/WHO/EOP
Moe Vela/OVP @ OVP
Alejandra Y. Castillo/ONDCP/EOP
Cynthia M. Jasso-Rotunno/WHO/EOP
Irwin P. Raij/OVP @ OVP
Alejandro G. Cabrera/OVP @ OVP
Brian A. Barreto/OPD/EOP
Anthony R. Bernal/OVP @ OVP
Maritza Rivera/WHO/EOP
Ilia V. Velez/WHO/EOP
Miguel M. Bustos/OVP @ OVP
Carmen B. Fowler/WHO/EOP
Roger V. Salazar/WHO/EOP
Dag Vega/WHO/EOP
Maria Echaveste/WHO/EOP

**CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOP**)

# ARMS Email System

Mickey Ibarra/WHO/EOP Suzanne Moreno/WHO/EOP Melinda N. Bates/WHO/EOP Janet Murguia/WHO/EOP Dario J. Gomez/WHO/EOP Capricia P. Marshall/WHO/EOP

**CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY** 

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. email	Douglas J. Band to cmills@oxygen.com at 13:25:56.00. Subject: Re: <no subject="">. (3 pages)</no>	12/02/1999	P6/b(6)

### **COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]
WHO ([Sotomayor])

OA/Box Number: 500000

# FOLDER TITLE:

[10/07/1998 - 06/06/2000]

2009-1007-F ab696

### RESTRICTION CODES

#### Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- Freedom of Information Act [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information RY PHOTOCOPY concerning wells |(b)(9) of the FOIA]

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Jeffrey A. Shesol ( CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )

CREATION DATE/TIME:10-FEB-2000 13:24:13.00

SUBJECT: Lockhart Briefing 2/10

TO: "Strell, Jay" <StrellJ ( "Strell, Jay" <StrellJ @ state.gov> [ UNKNOWN ] )

**READ: UNKNOWN** 

TEXT:

------ Forwarded by Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP on

02/10/2000 01:24 PM -----

Margaret M. Suntum 02/10/2000 01:07:44 PM Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Lockhart Briefing 2/10

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 10, 2000

PRESS BRIEFING BY JOE LOCKHART

The Briefing Room

11:55 A.M. EST

MR. LOCKHART: I didn't have very much this morning on the meeting that Terry asked me about, the agriculture meeting. I've got a little bit more, so let me tell you. Over in Presidential Hall at 4:00 p.m. today, John Podesta, Secretary Daley, Secretary Glickman, Ambassador Barshefsky will be meeting with farmers and ranchers and groups representing various agricultural organizations to build support for the upcoming vote on permanent normal trading relations for China. This follows a lot of consultation that's been done at the staff level and with the President as far as meeting with various groups who have an interest in this subject, and with the leadership of the Senate and the House when they were down here a couple of weeks ago.

We expect, as we move forward, that we will host a series of meetings here, including presidential meetings with members of Congress. We expect probably about four this month. In addition to senior staff

here at the White House and the Cabinet, we'll be meeting one on one with groups to develop support for the upcoming vote. So that's at 4:00 p.m. and it is open to the press. I encourage you to come and watch.

Ouestions.

- Q Joe, are you aware of U.S. warplane action in Iraq? The wires say that warplanes bombed Iraq's air defense system in the Northern no-fly zone.
- MR. LOCKHART: I have not seen any specific news from today, and I'm sure the Pentagon will have something at their briefing today on that subject. I'll remind you that we take enforcing the no-fly zone seriously, and our rules of engagement are clear, and we will continue to strike back at any threat to our forces in the region.
- Q On that same subject, Iraq said today that it was not going to allow U.N. weapons inspectors in.
- MR. LOCKHART: We've made very clear our interest in getting a robust weapons inspection regime resumed in Iraq. Iraq has a choice to make. They have made it very clear in the international community they want to get out from under the sanctions, the crippling sanctions that they face. They know what they need to do, and standing in the way and trying to dictate the terms of engagement of any force or who will lead such a force is only going to perpetuate a situation that they publicly claim they want to get out of, which is the U.N. sanctions.
  - Q Couldn't this lead to further military action?

MR. LOCKHART: I'm not going to go down a speculative road here. They know what they need to do in order to rejoin the international community; it's been made very clear to them. We will continue to enforce things like the no-fly zone. We will watch closely with the best available means we have at our disposal on their abilities and what -- their weapons of mass destruction program and we'll have made it very clear that if there is evidence of activity of rebuilding that program, that we will take aggressive action.

But as far as this particular incident or any statement they've made today, I think it's very clear where the international community is and what Iraq needs to do.

Q Joe, if the bill on marriage penalty tax passes the House today and would end up making its way to the President's desk, is that something the President would definitely veto?

MR. LOCKHART: I think it's highly unlikely this will get anyplace past the House. I think all indications are that the Senate is actually going to have a more realistic process. I mean, let's take a step back and look at what they've done here. They're operating with fantasy budget numbers. They somehow think they can go back to -- after loading up the appropriations bills at the end last year, and now they can use unrealistic spending numbers -- that don't even take into account what they did last year -- and add, magically, through smoke and mirrors, \$1 trillion in surpluses. That's just not the way we got to the point of surpluses, by making the numbers up.

You know, Chairman Archer is using very unrealistic numbers, which make his bill unaffordable. We want a marriage penalty bill that's

affordable; we've put forward a plan to do that. And we want one that's targeted toward the people who need the relief. The bill that Chairman Archer has put forward gives relief not only to those who are subject to the marriage penalty, but also those who are not. There are people who get a marriage bonus. And what they've done in drawing the bill, with -- when you look at the Alternative Minimum Tax, you'll find about 70 percent of married couples will get no tax relief at all.

So the bill, we think, is badly put together. It's not based on real numbers, and overall does not address the framework issues that we need to see about how the numbers add up, what we're going to be doing to extend solvency for Social Security and Medicare, issues you just can't -again, it's like trying to eat your dessert first, and figure out the rest of the meal later. We have to figure out a realistic way to do this. And if the Republicans continue to take steps based on unrealistic numbers, wildly project inflated projects and surpluses, we're not going to be able to support that.

Q This WTO meeting at 4:00 p.m., is this the first of the outreach meetings you're going to have on building for this vote?

MR. LOCKHART: We've actually, I think, had a number of outreach meetings already. This is probably the first big one that's open for coverage. This was scheduled, I think, for last week, and there was -- we had a snow. But we've had a number of smaller meetings. I think Sandy Berger spoke to -- what was the group -- Business Roundtable this week. Steve Richetti has done the rounds, has talked to the Washington reps for a lot of different industries.

So this effort began in earnest at the beginning of the year, but I think you will find it gathering momentum here in February, particularly with the President's participation as he sits and tries to meet with members of Congress and make the case.

Q What's your assessment of where you stand in Congress on this issue?

MR. LOCKHART: I think our assessment is we've got work to do. But we think this should be a high priority for Congress, and we think when we get a chance to make the case for the benefits of opening up China's markets to American business and American families, we'll be quite persuasive.

We think the business community is behind this. There is a number of coalitions that have formed to support this; the farm community is one. And when we have a chance to go up and make the case aggressively to members of Congress, we think this effort will succeed.

Q Joe, in your discussions with congressional people, are you trying to emphasize that they should have a vote sooner rather than later? It's generally considered that the later it gets into the campaign season, China may become an issue.

MR. LOCKHART: We certainly have made the case that we should vote sooner and we should vote in the earlier part of the year and we should get this done, because it is so important to our ability to continue to open markets to American business, which if you get a chance to look at the economic report to the President today, you will find that that's a big part of this economic expansion that we enjoy.

- Q Joe, are you finding or do you expect to find when you talk to people on the Hill that the recent cooperation between Russia and China in terms of sea-based military capabilities -- missiles, ships, that sort of thing. Is that an interference? Is that likely to interfere? And what's the administration's position?
- MR. LOCKHART: I don't think so. I think both Russia and China have made clear that they want to work with the United States. So I don't -- I haven't heard anything on that front as a potential impediment to WTO, or our relations with Russia or China.
- Q Is the administration comfortable with the way Russia is supplying China with a potential that it didn't have until now?
- MR. LOCKHART: Well, I'm not going to get into, without having too many more details, the exact potential of these things. I'm not sure that all of the assessments are accurate of that. But I will say that we certainly watch these things. And we don't see anything there right now that poses a threat to the United States.
- Q Joe, what's the President's position on the earnings limit on Social Security? That's another measure the GOP may be bringing up.
- MR. LOCKHART: Yes, the President's position was stated quite clearly in the State of the Union of 1999. He proposed, in the overall framework, an overall framework of reform within Social Security, to abandon it, because he doesn't believe it works anymore.
- I think, though, that if they are moving forward in a piecemeal fashion, that again, we're going to have trouble dealing with this, because there are other issues. There's the benefits to widows that the President put forward in his plan. There's the overall issue of solvency. I mean, I think that's where this conversation has to start -- what are you going to do to extend solvency of Social Security?
- So we're not going to go down this road, in a way that's effective, that's done piecemeal. We have to look at overall, what's the overall plan. So I think, you know, we're going to work with them. But I wouldn't expect a lot of enthusiasm here about trying to do this one piece by one piece, based on where the Republicans want to go.
- Q Just to follow up on that, the President has already indicated he doesn't think there will be comprehensive Social Security reform this year. So does that mean there can't be a change in the earnings limit this year? Or are you saying it would have to come as part of the tax package?
- MR. LOCKHART: No, I think we may not get to some of the comprehensive -- some of the reforms in Social Security that need to be done to extend it beyond 2050, but we're not going to have a debate about Social Security that doesn't involve solvency. And that is where this debate starts, and that's where the debate ends, as far as we're concerned.

So what we're going to have to have then, has got to be in the context where we can do things on retirement, the earnings test. We can, you know, address widow poverty. But we can't do this in a way where the majority party picks out things that they believe fit their agenda at the exclusion of overall changes that need to be made.

- Q Joe, it's our understanding a committee of the Arkansas Supreme Court has issued a formal complaint, an ethics complaint against the President seeking to have him disbarred. Has he received such a letter, and if so, what will his response be?
  - MR. LOCKHART: I have no idea.
- Q In general, though, what do you think of this type of thing? Is it a continuation of a political vendetta against him?
- MR. LOCKHART: I don't know anything about it. If I tried to keep track of everyone who has got a gripe, I'd spend all my time on that, so I don't know.
- MR. LOCKHART: Yes. The President I expect to drop by a meeting that Maria Echaveste, the Deputy Chief of Staff, is hosting here to try to build some momentum behind Hispanic judges. I think for the first time in history, we have three pending judges for the circuit court that are Hispanic, and we've had some trouble getting judicial nominees through. They want to talk about what we can do to help generate support on Capitol Hill and generate some momentum for getting these judges hearings and votes.
- Q Joe, does this administration believe it's had more trouble getting its judicial nominees confirmed than previous administrations? Have you looked at the numbers?
- MR. LOCKHART: The numbers aren't good. The Republican Senate, over the last three years, has moved very slowly on judicial nominees. The last year that I could go back and find a number on was 1998 where it took, on average, 230 days for a judicial nominee, which is longer than any time in recent memory. And probably more importantly, you've got an outbreak in this country of what the court systems call judicial emergencies, where they just don't have enough judges to keep up.

You've got one of the Hispanic judges that the President referred to yesterday in El Paso that fits that category, where it's a judicial emergency and the courts are asking for the Senate to move quickly, and the Senate has not moved very quickly.

We've made some progress on this; more needs to be done. I think the argument that we can't get something done because it's an election year just doesn't hold water. The Republicans in 1996 failed. They failed to fulfill their constitutional obligation by only putting through 17 judges. But if you look at what the Democratic-controlled Senate did in 1992, faced with a similar situation, they confirmed 66 judges.

In 1988, 42 judges were confirmed, and in 1984, 44 judges were confirmed. So they can do this. We have 39 judges now pending. I think that is something that, even if you look at the historical record here, that is something that's doable. They should get to work to get these judges confirmed.

- Q Why are you keeping the focus on Hispanic judges today?
- MR. LOCKHART: Well, we have a number of groups that are

interested in working with us. They had planned some time ago to come in today, and the President thinks it's important to get this moving. But it's not just Hispanic judges. It is not based on gender or ethnic background; we've got judges, all kinds of judges, that have been slow in moving.

And it is a matter of simple fairness and simple respect to very accomplished members of the bar that when we put them forward in qualifications unprecedented over the last 40 years, that they get a vote. They get a hearing, they get an up or down; that they're just not sitting in limbo waiting to find out what they're going to do. And that's what the Senate needs to do.

- Q But do you really think they're holding them because of their ethnic background, Joe?
- MR. LOCKHART: Listen, I don't know why they have failed to move forward on judges. That's a question you need to ask them. But there are judges that have waited years and years for a hearing or a vote, and we think they ought to have them. Whoever they are.
- Q If, as you say, this stretches across genders and different groups, why are you choosing to focus on the Hispanics in particular?
  - MR. LOCKHART: I think I answered your question --
  - Q I don't --
- MR. LOCKHART: Well, let me say it again. For some time, this meeting's been on the schedule. And we think it's important because there are various elements in the Hispanic community who think it's important to get the judges confirmed, and we want to work with them. But we want to work with people to get all of our judges confirmed.
- Q Just to follow up, you're not doing this to draw attention to Hispanic voters that the Congress is slow -- the Republican Congress is slow to confirm Hispanics? It's not political in any way?
- MR. LOCKHART: No, I think our intent is very clear. Our intent is to get our judges confirmed. And however -- whatever message works with the United States senators -- if the fact that we're having a meeting here today works, then we'll have another meeting tomorrow.
- Q Judge Sonia Sotomayor in New York was a Hispanic female judge who was confirmed, I believe, last year for a higher bench. The process seemed to work okay in that instance. Have you looked at that and said, how can we replicate it?
- MR. LOCKHART: I think the way we replicate it is to get the Senate to do their constitutional job, which is -- we're not saying that they have to confirm the judges we put forward, even though the qualifications for these people are really not questioned, or not in question. We're saying that they have a constitutional obligation to have hearings and have a vote. And then they should vote their conscience. They should vote whatever way they think.

But what is unconscionable is to hold people up for four years, and to say, you can't have a hearing, you can't have a vote. And that's something that we're going to continue to press.

- Q We are Argentine reporters. Since 1996, we don't have an American ambassador in Argentina. The question is, if we are receiving an American ambassador in Buenos Aires.
- MR. LOCKHART: The answer is, hopefully, soon, we hope to put forward another candidate. I think, unfortunately, we found not just in Argentina, but in Brazil and other places, the Senate has sought to hold up nominations based on not the qualifications, which were impeccable of some of our candidates, but on other issues, and I wish I could find a way to explain to those who are concerned in places like Argentina why the Senate moves like this, but I can't; only that we will continue to try to find a solution to this and put forward an ambassador, because it is a very important position, a very important relationship for the President and for the United States.
- Q Joe, why is there reticence here, or is there reticence here to say that the President would veto individual tax measures that come down from the Hill? If you're opposed to it and say they need to come down --
- MR. LOCKHART: I think you know from watching for a while the sort of sap process, is one that sometime complicated, and as things get along, we weigh in on these things in a more formal way. Secretary Summers sent a letter on the marriage penalty last year before it -- last week before it even got to the floor, which was quite clear. So I think we've made our views known. I don't even know where this bill goes.
- I don't know that it has any complimentary process in the Senate, but we've made clear that we're going to do -- we can do this the right way, we can provide tax relief to the middle class, we can find a way to work with Republicans and Democrats, but we're not going to pass the 1999 trillion-dollar tax cut that the Republicans wanted based on unrealistic numbers in pieces. And until they can provide some sort of framework, we're not in a position where we're going to make progress.
- Q The Senate, I guess, just passed the nuclear waste bill this morning, although not by enough to sustain a veto. Where are you guys on that?
- MR. LOCKHART: I think we've demonstrated consistent opposition to the Senate's approach to nuclear waste in Yucca Mountain, and I expect that to continue.
- Q Joe, anything on Northern Ireland? Do you expect the President to be making any calls today --
- MR. LOCKHART: I don't have any information on the President's calls. The staff, at a variety of levels, remains engaged. We're obviously at a critical time here, and we continue in our role to impress on all parties the importance of fulfilling the commitments made in the Good Friday Agreement, and we'll continue to do that. But I have no wisdom to offer at this point, looking over the next few days.
- Q The Irish press reported this morning that Clinton talked to Ahern yesterday or last night.
- MR. LOCKHART: I'll have to check. I don't know -- I was not aware of that.

- Q Joe, Senator Leahy is putting forward this capital punishment bill tomorrow that includes DNA testing on inmates on death row. Is the administration likely to be in support of that?
- MR. LOCKHART: I checked on that; we haven't seen the legislation yet. Obviously, we put out a statement last month overall on the role of DNA, genetics and the judicial system, but we'd really have to take a look at what's in the Leahy bill before I made any comment on it.
- Q Joe, if you want to see the overall budget picture for these tax cuts before potentially you can sign a lot of them into law, is the same true of spending bills that Congress might send down, that you would also need to see how those -- see a whole budget framework before you could accept it?
- MR. LOCKHART: Listen, we'd like it if it went in the right order, where Congress passed a budget at the time they were supposed to by law, and then we went to the appropriations process. There's no reason not to do it the right way. So that's -- maybe we're naive, but maybe they will do it. Maybe they will do their jobs as instructed this year; maybe they won't. But if we get into a situation like we did last year in October, where they haven't finished their work, we will use the power we have to look at bills in the context of an overall spending framework, and not bill by bill, which is what we did last year.
- Q One of the issues I guess that's going to come out at today's Democratic 2000 agenda is privacy, protecting people's medical, financial records. Daschle and the Senate, they've got this bipartisan privacy task force. It seems like a new issue coming forward on the agenda. Let me just ask you, is this an issue that Democrats have found is really resonating with voters, and therefore, putting --
- MR. LOCKHART: I'm not sure it's a new issue. I think we've been talking about privacy over the last two or three years. But it certainly is an issue that is very much on the minds of voters, whether it be financial privacy, whether it be medical privacy. We had a major event here this week on the federal government moving forward to protect federal employees' rights when it comes to the advances we're going to have in science on genetic information and potential genetic discrimination. So I think it's very important.

We had a situation where, on privacy issues, Congress had a chance to take some steps, and by the statute that they passed, couldn't meet the deadline and we've moved forward with rules, new rules on privacy. So I think as far as the politics of this, I can't predict how they'll play out, beyond that the President is very committed to this, and we've got a number of ideas and initiatives that are moving forward that we hope that the Republicans can join us and support us on.

- Q Were you able to get any clarification on how many fundraisers the President is likely to do in the next few months?
- MR. LOCKHART: I can only tell you what I said this morning, which is what the schedule looked like to me, glancing at it, is for the DNC. We've got half a dozen or so -- five or six per month over the next couple of months. Beyond that, I don't know that we've scheduled that far out.
- Q Joe, has the DNC set a quota, or a goal for the President for the amount of money he needs to raise?

MR. LOCKHART: You'd have to ask the DNC that. I know that they are certain of the fact that they will be grossly outspent in this election year, but want to do everything they can to remain competitive, and the President is enthusiastic about helping in that effort, and will spend an appropriate amount of time both here in Washington and around the country, helping to raise the resources the Democrats will need to compete.

Joe, why does it necessarily follow that if you accepted some initial tax cuts piecemeal, that there would necessarily follow a trillion-dollar tax cut? Couldn't you start rejecting further tax cuts down the road?

MR. LOCKHART: We know what they want to do because I read it in fine publications like yours, that as the Speaker's press secretary said, we want to put Humpty Dumpty back together again. And Humpty Dumpty's the trillion-dollar tax cut, and that's what their leading presidential candidate wants, that's what they want to do.

I think this is a matter of whether we're going to do this responsibly, or whether we're doing to do it based on cookbooks and phony numbers. And the President's made very clear we're going to do this responsibly.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

12:20 P.M. EST

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CREATOR: Karen E. Kaufmann ( CN=Karen E. Kaufmann/OU=OA/O=EOP [ OA ] )

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SUBJECT: More of your Search

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READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

There was very little on Hartzog and Seiberling. =========== ATTACHMENT ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00

TEXT:

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 6 STORIES

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Contemporary Black Biography

1995; Volume 10

LENGTH: 2393 words

NAME: Constance Baker Motley

#### PERSONAL:

Born Constance Baker, September 14, 1921, in New Haven, CT; daughter of Willoughby (a chef) and Rachel Baker; married Joel Wilson Motley, Jr., 1946; children: Joel Wilson III.

OCCUPATION: Civil rights lawyer, politician, federal judge

ADDRESSES: Office--U.S. Courthouse, Foley Square, New York, NY 10007.

EDUCATION: New York University, B.A., 1943; Columbia University, L.L.B., 1946.

### CAREER:

Staff member and associate counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, New York, 1945-65; New York state senator, 1964-65; Manhattan Borough President, 1965-66; U.S. District Court judge, 1966-82; chief judge, 1982-86; senior judge, 1986--.

### MEMBERSHIPS:

New York State Advisory Council on Employment and Unemployment Insurance, 1958-64; New York City Bar Association; National Bar Association.

#### AWARDS:

Elizabeth Blackwell Award, Hobart & William Smith College, 1965; Columbia La w School Medal for Excellence, 1987; New York State Bar Association Gold Medal Award, 1988; Achievement Award, Associated Transit Guild of New York City; Good

Government Award, New York State Careerists Society. Received more than 20

honorary degrees from American colleges and universities, including Smith College, Tulane University, Princeton University, Brown University, Howard University, and Spelman College.

#### SIDELITES:

When, in May of 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court issued its landmark decision in the Brown v. Board of Education case, the real struggle for school desegregation was just beginning. Over the next ten years, dozens of legal battles were required to enforce the ruling, and one of the leading powers behind them was a young, black trial attorney named Constance Baker Motley. Motley began working with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Defense and Educational Fund in 1945, while still a law student at Columbia. Within a short time, she had risen from clerk to associate counsel and earned a reputation as a keen and meticulous lawyer. The first African American woman to represent the NAACP in court, Motley participated in nearly every important civil rights case brought to trial between 1945 and 1965, winning nine out of ten of them before the U.S. Supreme Court. Among her most famous victories was the case of James H. Meredith against the University of Mississippi, which ende d in September of 1962, after 16 months of litigation.

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After leaving the NAACP in 1964, Motley was elected to the New York State Senate, becoming the first black woman in the state's history to hold such an office. The following year, she was selected by New York's city councilmen to fill the vacant post of Manhattan borough president, and was handily reelected nine months later in a city-wide vote. The first woman--black or white--to serv e as a borough president, she also became the first woman to sit on the New York Board of Estimate. Motley reached the pinnacle of her career in January of 1966, when President Lyndon B. Johnson named her U.S. District Court Judge for the Southern District of New York, a region that includes Manhattan, the Bronx, and six counties north of the city. The appointment made her the first African American woman to serve as a federal judge and the highest-paid black woman in government. Motley became chief judge in 1982, and four years later was appointed senior judge.

Motley was born in New Haven, Connecticut; in 1921. The ninth of 12 children of West Indian parents who had migrated to the United States from the Caribbean island of Nevis, she grew up among a small, close-knit community of immigrants on the outskirts of the Yale University campus. Her father worked as a chef for

the Skull & Bones, one of the university's elitist social clubs. At that time,

New Haven's black population was very small, and Motley was one of only a few African American students in her elementary and high school classes. She excelled in her studies, however, and filled in the gaps in her knowledge of black history and culture through her attendance at an Episcopal church, where

the minister delivered lectures on the writings of W. E. B. Du Bois and other prominent African American scholars. It was not until she was 15 years old that she encountered her first real experiences with racism.

One day, she and a group of friends were turned away from a public beach in nearby Milford, Connecticut, as the rules prohibited interracial swimming parties. On another occasion, she was denied admission to a roller-skating rink. These incidents stimulated her interest in civil rights and prompted her to become actively involved in community affairs. For a short time, she served as president of the local NAACP youth council and secretary of the New Haven Adult Community Council, both established to eliminate racial discrimination. She had originally hoped to become an interior decorator, but by the time she had finished high school in 1939, her aspirations had changed, and she set her sights on a career in law.

Despite Motley's strong academic ability and keen motivation, her parents could not afford to send her or her 11 brothers and sisters to college. For a few months following her graduation from high school, she struggled to earn a living as a domestic worker. She then accepted a job with the New Haven branch

of the National Youth Administration. One night, she happened to deliver a speech at the Dixwell Community House, an African American social organization.

The speech focused on the need for black members to be given greater control over the facility's operation. Without this, she contended, they would continue to shun its activities.

Among the members of the audience was Clarence Blakeslee, the wealthy white contractor and philanthropist who had built the center. Blakeslee was so impressed with the intelligence and poise of the tall, stately 18-year-old that

he offered to pay for her college education. He could not understand why a student of her caliber was not in school. Motley remembered his generosity more

than half a century later in a speech given during her induction into the National Women's Hall of Fame. " Blakeslee had made millions of dollars, and

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# Contemporary Black Biography, 1995

what he did with those millions was to help educate black Americans," the New Yorker quoted her as saying. "Clarence Blakeslee was a white man responsible for my being here today."

Eager to experience life in the South and observe firsthand the effects of segregation, Motley enrolled at Fisk University, a well- respected black institution in Nashville. On her first trip home, she brought her parents a poignant souvenir: a sign which read, "Colored Only." "It was my first experience in a black institution with black people who were just like white people, as we used to say," she recalled in an interview with the New Yorker. "Their parents were college educated, they had wealth. For the first time, I me t blacks who were doing something other than cooking and waiting on tables."

Motley was surprised to learn, however, that most of her African American classmates intended to return to the black community, and had no interest whatsoever in advancing in the world of whites. Motley herself felt differently, and in June of 1942, after little more than a year at Fisk, she transferred to New York University. She graduated from NYU's Washington Square College with a bachelor's degree in economics.

"Women lawyers were a joke in most courthouses and unheard of in virtually every place except New York City. The whole town turned out to see the 'Negro' lawyers from New York, 'one of whom was a woman.'"

Motley began her studies at Columbia Law School in February of 1944. She was at that time, one of the only African American women enrolled there. During her first year of law school, she met Thurgood Marshall, then chief counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and later a Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, who offered her a job as a law clerk in the organization's New York office. After receiving her law degree in 1946, she became a full-fledged member of the legal staff. Her early work for the fund focused on discrimination against blacks in the area of housing. At that time, many of the clients who sought help from the organization had been denied the right to buy real estate in white neighborhoods. She sought to break the restrictive covenants that allowed this to happen.

year was appointed assistant counsel at the Legal Defense Fund. She got her first courtroom experience that same year, when Marshall sent her, along with his chief assistant, Robert Carter, to Jackson, Mississippi, to handle an equalization-of-salary suit brought by an African American teacher against the Jackson public school system. The local newspapers ran a prominent story on the trial, and the courtroom was packed to the rafters. In the 1940s, Motley wrote in Ms., "women lawyers were a joke in most courthouses and unheard of in virtually every place except New York City.... The whole town turned out to see the 'Negro' lawyers from New York, 'one of whom was a woman.'"

Motley passed the New York State bar examination in 1948, and the following

Over the next 15 years, Motley served as a key attorney in dozens of school desegregation cases handled by the fund, appearing in dramatic courtroom trials in 11 southern states and the District of Columbia. After helping Marshall write the legal briefs for the historic Brown v. Board of Education case, she went on to argue ten of her own before the U.S. Supreme Court, winning nine of them. In 1956, she helped Autherine Lucy, the daughter of a black tenant farmer who had completed her undergraduate education at a segregated college, win the right to attend graduate school at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa. Six years

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later, Motley, then associate counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, won national recognition for representing James H. Meredith during his long but ultimately successful battle to gain admission to the University of Mississippi.

The case, which required nearly 15 court hearings and cost the fund an estimated \$ 30,000, was considered a major victory for civil rights, and helped

make Meredith a national hero. In May of 1963, less than a year after her victory with Meredith, Motley fought for the reinstatement of more than 1,000 black schoolchildren in Birmingham, Alabama, who had been suspended for participating in peaceful civil rights demonstrations there. Four months later,

she spearheaded the fund's successful efforts to prevent Governor George C. Wallace from blocking school desegregation in four Alabama counties.

By early 1964, Motley's high-profile work as a civil rights lawyer had drawn her into the world of politics. When, in February of that year, a Democratic candidate for the New York State Senate from Manhattan's Upper West Side was ruled off the ballot because of an election-law technicality, Motley was offere d the nomination. She accepted the challenge, and after a short, low-key campaign, defeated the Republican candidate, Thomas G. Weaver, by a margin of 3,555 votes to 2,261, becoming the first black woman to be elected to the New York State Senate. She was reelected that November, and remained in the job until February of 1965, when she was chosen by the unanimous vote of the New York City Council to fill a one-year vacancy as Manhattan borough president.

In city-wide elections nine months later, she was reelected to a full four-year term with the endorsement of Democratic, Republican, and Liberal voters. She thus became the first woman and the third African American to hold the office. While serving as borough president, Motley helped draw up a master plan to revitalize Harlem, which included the construction of a new state offic

e building and city police academy. In an interview with the New Yorker, she described the plan as "the most exciting project I've been associated with," an d

emphasized the vital importance of "reclaim ing the inner city, rather than wip

ing it out." In addition, she worked to improve city schools, rehabilitate housing in Harlem and other underprivileged areas, and pressed for more local community involvement in city planning. In March of 1965, she represented New York City on the historic civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

In 1966, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York requested that President Lyndon B. Johnson nominate Constance Motley for a federal district court judgeship in that state's southern district. Johnson agreed, and despite vigorous opposition to her appointment both from conservative southern senators

and other federal judges -- at the time, only two other women were U.S. district

judges--the Senate confirmed the nomination in August of that year. Motley thus

became the nation's first female African American federal judge. In June of 1982, she was named chief judge of the court, succeeding Judge Lloyd F. MacMahon, and four years later assumed the position of senior judge.

Motley credits former Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, with whom she worked at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, with giving her both the opportunity and the moral support she needed to succeed in the fiercely competitive judicial arena. "Lost in the shuffle may well be his personal, unique contributions to the advancement of women in the law," she wrote in a personal tribute to Marshall published in Ms. " He aid ed my career at a time when nobody was hiring women lawyers.... I am now a senior United States district judge, and I was

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the chief judge of the country's largest federal trial court from 1982 until 1986. But if it had not been for Thurgood Marshall, nobody would ever have hear d

of Constance Baker Motley."

In October of 1993, Motley was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York, along with such distinguished honorees as Nobel Prize-winning physicist Rosalyn Yalow and Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children's Defense Fund. Over the years, she had received dozens of awards and honorary degrees for her contributions to the legal profession and to the advancement of civil rights.

SOURCES: Ebony, January 1963.
Ms., September/October 1991, pp. 88-89.
Newsweek, September 5, 1994.
New Yorker, September 17, 1966, pp. 48-50; May 16, 1994, pp. 65-71.
Vogue, May 1967.

--Caroline B. D. Smith

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 3, 1995

PAGE 6

LEVEL 1 - 5 OF 6 STORIES

Copyright 1988 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

August 7, 1988, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

NAME: Constance Baker Motley

CATEGORY: Law

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1, Page 32, Column 4; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 885 words

HEADLINE: Guiding Wedtech Trial, a Sure Hand

BYLINE: BY HOWARD W. FRENCH

BODY:

One of the rare points of agreement between the prosecution and the defense

in the Wedtech racketeering trial was that, without the firm hand of Judge Constance Baker. Motley guiding it, the complicated five-month trial probably would have gone on for another six months, risking mutiny by wearied jurors and

running up huge costs for both sides.

During a recess in the last days of the trial, James M. LaRossa, the lawyer

for Representative Mario Biaggi, was overheard commending the way the no-nonsense 67-year-old Federal District Court judge had kept the trial moving

along, where others might have succumbed under the tidal wave of motions, evidence and arguments in a case involving six defendants, dozens of witnesses

and the complexities of the racketeering law.

''It's really remarkable,'' Mr. LaRossa told his adversary, Edward J. M. Little, an assistant United States attorney. ''She's limited argument, but the

most impressive thing is the way she has managed the exhibits.''

Another Milestone

For Judge Motley, the Wedtech trial, in which she favorably impressed the prosecutors and most of the defense lawyers, was another milestone in an impressive career.

The trial was ''without a doubt the most complex that I've had, and the one that has required the most legal work,'' in her 22 years on the Federal bench,

she said in a recent interview about her career.

Judge Motley was born in New Haven on Sept. 14, 1921, the ninth of 12 children of immigrants from the British West Indies. She graduated from the Columbia University Law School in 1946. Between 1945 and 1965, as a lawyer for

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense and Education Fund, she won nine victories before the United States Supreme Court in civil rights cases, arguing each of them. She forced the integration of public schools in New Rochelle, Englewood, N.J., Hempstead and Amityville on Long Island and in central Virginia. And she was the lawyer for James H. Meredith in

his fight to enter the then all-white University of Mississippi in 1962.

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## The New York Times, August 7, 1988

From civil rights law, Mrs. Motley went on to become the first woman to serve a full term in the New York State Senate. From February 1965 to August 1966, she was the Manhattan Borough President - the first woman to sit on the New York City Board of Estimate.

#### 'A Person of Unusual Character'

An editorial in The New York Times in 1965, noting that Mrs. Motley, a Democrat, had received the endorsement of the Liberal and Republican Parties, called her ''a person of such unusual character that color becomes an irrelevancy in her candidacy.''

In 1966, at the recommendation of Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed her to the Federal bench.

''I was opposed by Senator Eastland from Mississippi, who in those days held up every black who was nominated to the bench,'' Mrs. Motley said, without bitterness, in explaining why her nomination languished for eight months in the Senate Judiciary Committee. She was named to become an Appeals Court judge, she said, but opposition from southern Democrats forced a compromise, placing her on the district court.

### A Black Woman on U.S. Bench

''I was the first black woman to be appointed as a Federal judge,'' she said .
''At that time there were only four other women Federal judges.''

Asked what struck her most in her long tenure on the bench, Judge Motley cited the ''extraordinary proliferation of litigation,'' but said that, otherwise, remarkably little had changed.

She said the battle now raging in Yonkers over a desegregation order by Judg e

Leonard B. Sand of Federal District Court in Manhattan is reminiscent of her crusades as a young civil rights lawyer. ''Once again we have a city government that is revolting against the United States,'' she said.

''That is no different than Governor Barnett of Mississippi, or Governor Faubus of Alabama,'' she said. ''It's the same thing - just like blocking the school house door. What is startling is that here in 1988 you have this happening, especially when this judge was supported by the Court of Appeals and

the Supreme Court of the United States.''

'As Capable as Anyone'

Judge Motley believes her presence in the courtroom carries great significance. ''As the first black and the first woman, I am proving in everything that I do that blacks and women are as capable as anyone - of course there is more scrutiny - and I am aware of that,'' she said.

''Some people just can't imagine a Federal judge being anything else but a white male,'' she said.

Judge Motley has been known for the daunting glare and sharp rebuke she give s to any lawyer who oversteps courtroom bounds. During the Wedtech trial, she repeatedly called to task a defense lawyer for what she saw as intemperate

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The New York Times, August 7, 1988

outbursts and improper tactics.

After one string of persistent objections, which she just as persistently overruled, Judge Motley sternly said to the lawyer, ''What you just said to me indicates that you are either not familiar with this court, or you are trying t

pull my leg.''

''Here in New York you get the best and you get the worst,'' she said in the

interview. ''With the worst, they come in here and,'' because of her race and sex, ''they assume I don't know my job.''

GRAPHIC: Photo of Constance Baker Motley, the judge in the five-month long Wedtech racketeering trial (NYT)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LEVEL 2 - 1 OF 11 STORIES

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November 1, 1998, Sunday, FIVE STAR LIFT EDITION

SECTION: EVERYDAY MAGAZINE, Pg. D5

LENGTH: 628 words

HEADLINE: BOOK BY RIGHTS LEADER IS VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION

BYLINE: Leland Ware; Special To The Post-Dispatch

BODY:

'Equal Justice Under The Law'

An Autobiography By Constance Baker Motley

Published By Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 282 Pages, \$ 25

Shortly after the Supreme Court found in 1954 that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional, Southern states reacted with a campaign of "massive resistance." Throughout the South, political leaders pledged to use every means at their disposal to thwart the Supreme Court's mandate in Brown vs.

Board of Education.

When black students attempted to enroll in schools they often encountered mobs of angry whites. One of the most violent confrontations took place in 1962 at the University of Mississippi, when James Meredith attempted to desegregate that institution. During several days of rioting, at least two people were killed. These dramatic events were broadcast on nightly television reports to a stunned nation. When Meredith finally enrolled at Ole Miss he was accompanied by heavily armed federal troops. The soldiers occupied Oxford, Miss., until Meredith's graduation.

Meredith's admission was made possible by Constance Baker Motley, a lawyer for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Thurgood Marshall assigned the Meredith case to Motley as one of his last acts as director of the LDF. As he handed over the file, Marshall joked that "black women were less subject to harm in the South than black men since all white men had black mammies." In Motley's autobiography, "Equal Justice Under Law," we learn just how fraught with danger the assignment actually was.

Motley was born in New Haven, Conn., in 1921. Her parents immigrated to America from the Caribbean island of Nevis and she grew up in a tightly kni t circle of West Indian immigrants who worked hard and placed a high premium on education.

She did not experience segregation firsthand until she traveled to Nashville,
Tenn., to attend Fisk University. After a couple of years at Fisk, Motley
transferred to New York University, where she received her undergraduate degree.
Motley began her career with the LDF in 1945 while she was still attending

Columbia University's Law School. Motley assisted Marshall and other LDF

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St. Louis Post-Dispatch, November 1, 1998

attorneys with the briefs that were filed in Brown vs. Board of Education.

Motley spent most of her career arguing controversial cases in the deep South. Racial tensions were higher than any time since the Civil War. The Court

of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which covers the Southern states, is well-known for the progressive role that it assumed in the 1950s and 1960s. But

as Motley explains, most trial judges were not as enlightened. When Motley arrived in Mississippi in the early 1960s, there were no more than five or six

black lawyers in the state. Yet, Motley did not hesitate to challenge the state's rigid, racial order.

At the time it was customary for whites to address African-Americans by their first names. When one attorney attempted to follow this custom with Motley she coldly informed him that "if he could not address me as Mrs. Motley, he should not address me at all."

Motley left the LDF in the mid-1960s to pursue what turned out to be a brief political career. She served in the New York state legislature and as Manhattan Borough president. In 1966 Motley became the first African-American female to be appointed to the federal bench, a position in which she continues to serve.

Motley's keen intellect, courage and strength of character are apparent in this engaging narrative. She is well-known in civil rights and legal circles but she is not widely known outside of these groups.

Motley is, nevertheless, one of the brightest stars in the constellation of civil rights leaders. Her autobiography represents a valuable contribution to the history of civil rights.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO Photo of James Meredith and Constance Baker Motley. (no cutline or creditline listed).

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: November 2, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 2 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 News & Record (Greensboro, NC) News & Record (Greensboro, NC) October 4, 1998, Sunday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. F5

LENGTH: 1024 words

HEADLINE: TRAILBLAZING FEDERAL JUDGE TELLS HER LIFE STORY

BYLINE: BY HELEN UBINAS; The Hartford Courant

BODY:

Constance Baker Motley had every right to be angry. And sometimes she was, if just for a while.

There was the searing label ''colored'' over the doorway to the train she rode to college; the white grocer in Mississippi who calmly called a male colleague of hers - a fellow lawyer - ''boy''; the stereotypical courtroom mura l of black farm workers behind a judge's bench during a case for equal pay for black teachers; the newspaper accounts that referred to her only as ''the Motley woman''; and the firestorm of opposition by white male judges to the presidential nomination that eventually made her the first black woman appointed to the federal bench.

But there was rarely much time or use for anger, or any other emotion, for that matter. Sentiment didn't get the job done.

''Middle-class blacks, particularly those in the professions, knew that anger would not get them anywhere, so they concealed it as best they could, but it was just beneath the surface,'' Motley writes in her autobiography, Equal Justice Under Law (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$ 25).

''It was this pain and anger about an unjust society that propelled them to action,'' she wrote.

Now she is a senior federal district judge in New York City. At 77, she has thought of retiring, but that's about as far as she's gone.

But it was the cases she worked on while at the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, including the landmark school-desegregation case Brown vs. Board of Education, that made her a key civil-rights figure. In the process, she blazed a trail for women such as Sandra Day O'Connor and Ruth Bade r Ginsburg to become the first women to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Years before the civil-rights marches and demonstrations of the 1960s, Motley and a group of other distinguished young lawyers - including Thurgood Marshall - waged courtroom battles in the 1940s and '50s over ''separate but equal'' public facilities that would set the stage for the subsequent civil-rights campaigns.

While many men in the influential group have been widely written about, not

much was known about Motley before she was approached four years ago to write her own story of helping to desegregate Southern schools, buses and lunch

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News & Record (Greensboro, NC), October 4, 1998

counters.

Her first-person account covers everything from the day she joined Marshall's legal team at the NAACP in 1945 to successfully arguing nine cases before the U.S. Supreme Court to her predictions for race relations in the years to come.

There are also the string of firsts in her life: In 1964, she became the first black woman elected to the New York State Senate. In 1965, she was chosen

Manhattan Borough president, the first black woman in that position. In 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson nominated her to the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, though white judges on that all-male court opposed such a move.

''I wasn't surprised,'' she said. ''I had expected it. They really couldn't see a woman in that position.

''But really, what are you supposed to do? Judges are not supposed to be emotional. If you were, then you'd be rejected because you didn't have a judicial sentiment. You'd be known as someone who got angry instead of trying to .

think of what to do next. It would have been disastrous to be out there screaming and yelling because then they'd have a legitimate reason for not approving you.''

Born in New Haven, Conn., to immigrant parents from the island of Nevis, a tiny island in the eastern Caribbean, Motley knew early on what she wanted to do with her life.

''When I was about 15, I decided I wanted to be a lawyer,'' Motley writes.
''No one thought this was a good idea and I received no encouragement. My mothe r
thought I should be a hairdresser, my father had no thoughts on the subject.''

But even with the grades and motivation, Motley was missing one thing: money.

If she wanted to go to school, her parents told her, she'd have to pay her own way or earn scholarships.

She worked for \$ 50 a month refinishing furniture until a white Connecticut philanthropist, Clarence W. Blakeslee, heard Motley speak at a meeting about why a local community center was not attracting more black people, as it was intended. Motley caused a stir when she pointed out that because everyone on the

center's board was from Yale and white, the black community had no input and therefore no interest in the center. Impressed by her spunk and her grades, Blakeslee offered the next day to pay Motley's way to Fisk University in Nashville.

Motley was hired by Marshall as the first female lawyer to work for the NAAC p
Legal Defense Fund, at a time when women lawyers were uncommon. While the group was young and relatively inexperienced, members were fully conscious of the historical impact of their actions.

''We were aware as soon as the courts agreed to hear Brown,'' she said. ''We knew that was a historic moment. Depending on how the court ruled, history was going to be determined. If they reaffirmed separate but equal, that would have meant we would have a different society, and if they held segregation unconstitutional, we knew that would be world-shaking and the South would resist.''

PAGE 5

News & Record (Greensboro, NC), October 4, 1998

Now, 44 years after Brown, Motley warns that while issues of civil rights have greatly improved, they are far from ideal, and that another battle will soon be waged in the black community - this time, between the classes.

"'We have two black societies now,'' she said. ''Prior to Brown, all blacks were united in the fight for equality because if you had six Ph.D.'s and worked in Mississippi, you were going to ride the back of the bus with everybody else who was black and never went to school. Once segregation was ended, then there was no single issue which united the black community.

''Probably what will happen is what really happened in the civil-rights movement. That is, the civil-rights movement was led primarily by middle-class blacks, and I think now a lot of middle-class blacks are anxious to do somethin g similar in that they will continue the struggle on behalf of these blacks who have been left behind.''

LOAD-DATE: October 5, 1998

PAGE 6

LEVEL 2 - 3 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 The Roanoke Times & World News Roanoke Times & World News

September 20, 1998, Sunday, METRO EDITION

SECTION: BOOK, Pg. 4

LENGTH: 2464 words

HEADLINE: BOOK PAGE

BODY:

BookMarks

Daughter pays tribute to racial heritage

Reviewed by MARY ATWELL

FREEDOM'S CHILD: THE LIFE OF A CONFEDERATE GENERAL'S BLACK DAUGHTER. By Carrie Allen McCray. Algonquin Books. \$ 23.95.

Carrie Allen McCray's mother was born Mary Rice, the child of a former slave and a white Confederate general. If Mary's mixed racial heritage was not especially unusual, her upbringing was, for her father participated actively in her life. He not only spent time with Mary when she was a child - taking her on carriage rides and bringing her for visits in his home - he also paid for her college education at Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg.

Her biological father's encouragement and support helped to set Mary on a lifelong path of challenging racial divisions. This book is primarily the story of Mary Rice Hayes Allen and a strong tribute to her forceful spirit.

McCray tells of her mother's two marriages and 10 children and of her challenges to the segregated society of late 19th and early 20th-century America. Mary Rice Hayes Allen frequently referred to her goal as "full freedom" for black Americans, and she worked in circles large (the NAACP) and small (her friends and family) to fight discrimination. Mary was truly an emancipated woman, whose story deserves telling.

It is unfortunate that ''Freedom's Child'' was not edited differently. Each chapter is a compilation of vignettes, but the narrative wanders all over the map. It is neither a biography nor a memoir. Characters, including famous people such as Harlem Renaissance poets and civil rights leaders, are introduce d and forgotten. Stories, such as how Mary Rice Hayes Allen persuaded Montclair,

N.J., to hire her son as the city's first black police officer, are mentioned but not explained. She must have been a wonderful and fascinating person, but the reader comes away without sufficient context to form a fully rounded pictur e of its major character.

MARY ATWELL teaches criminal justice at Radford University.

Black judge recalls civil rights cases

Reviewed by STAN BARNHILL

Roanoke Times & World News, September 20, 1998

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW. By Constance Baker Motley, Farrar, Straus and Giroux. \$ 25.

Constance Baker Motley was born in New Haven, Conn., in 1921, the daughter of black immigrant parents from the West Indies. Motley's poor, but hard-working,

parents incessantly preached to their children the values of education and self-determination - lessons Motley learned well. She excelled in the white public schools her father insisted she attend. Early in life, Motley decided that she would one day become a lawyer - hardly a reasonable aspiration in the

early 1930s for a black female who lacked any economic means to pursue her dream.

Fortunately for Motley, soon after she graduated from high school, a successful white building contractor heard her speak publicly. Seeing great potential, the contractor incredibly offered to finance Motley's college education. Motley gladly accepted, left her \$ 50-a-month sewing job, and enrolled at Fisk University. Two years later, she transferred and ultimately graduated from New York University. With further assistance from her benefactor

Motley gained admission to, and ultimately graduated from, Columbia Law School.

Right out of law school, Motley went to work for the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund , just in time to be a key participant in the major civil rights cases of the 1950s and 1960s.

''Equal Justice Under Law'' is Motley's autobiography. She describes her remarkable career as a member of Thurgood Marshall's litigation team from 1945

until her appointment to the federal bench in 1966. During that time, she participated in most of the important civil rights cases that inevitably forced

the country to abandon segregation and move toward a fairer society. By the time eshe went on the federal bench, Motley had argued more cases in the U.S. Supreme

Court than any woman before her - white or black - and she was publicly recognized by justices on the Warren court as being one of the most talented oral advocates to practice before them.

During her career, Motley proved herself to be a remarkable black person, woman, lawyer and judge. One does not need to belong to any of these categories

however, to appreciate her book. She provides an insider's perspective on the major civil rights cases in the 1950s and 1960s and the personalities of the litigators who participated in those cases.

Motley repeatedly surprises the reader with her marginality and objectivity which permit her to acknowledge virtue in her opponents and vice in her colleagues - except for a few racist Southern judges and Dwight Eisenhower (who m she severely blames for not providing national leadership after the first Brown

v. Board of Education decision).

Motley's book is well-written and provides a fascinating perspective on the civil rights movement in general and the role of civil rights lawyers in particular during the period of greatest change in American race relations. Anyone interested in contemporary history or American law, or anyone who simply

wishes to read about a remarkable American, should spend some time with Motley's book.

STAN BARNHILL is a Roanoke lawyer.

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Roanoke Times & World News, September 20, 1998

Five years in the White House

Reviewed by RONALD LANKFORD

FLAWED GIANT: LYNDON JOHNSON AND HIS TIMES 1961-1973. By Robert Dallek. Oxford University Press. \$ 35.

In 1964 and 1965, President Johnson pursued the Great Society, promising to end poverty and bring racial equality to the country. But by 1966 Vietnam had begun to plague him. By 1967 and 1968, the war would drain money away from the social reforms, leaving the Great Society in shambles.

The bulk of Robert Dallek's narrative concentrates on the five years of LBJ's presidency. Following JFK's assassination, Johnson used his political skill to heal the nation and push forward an ambitious legislative program that included Medicare, a civil rights bill and aid to education. Dallek details Johnson's uncanny ability to pass legislation by trading favors, stroking egos and threatening retaliation.

But Johnson's presidency soon became embroiled in Vietnam. Dallek's detailed look at Johnson's dilemmas in Vietnam shows that easy solutions didn't exist. An all-out effort to win the war risked provoking China or Russia. An unconditional withdrawal would have meant tossing aside the 30-year belief in the domino theory. Perhaps Johnson's biggest mistake was failing to honestly explain the war to the American people.

''Flawed Giant'' doesn't shy away from LBJ's uncouth habits and rude behavior. He was domineering and aroused strong feelings in others. People seemed to either love him or hate him. Johnson would secretly leak a story and

then accuse and upbraid a staff member for doing so. He wasn't above crude behavior in order to intimidate others. Johnson also proved extremely insecure and demanded complete loyalty from his staff.

Johnson's last years on his Texas ranch were a mixture of quality time with family and friends, and frustration over the quieter lifestyle. He felt a sense of freedom from the White House and indulged himself with food, liquor and cigarettes. He tried to keep busy on his ranch, asking for memos and calling meetings as though the ranch were a different version of the White House. In the end, retirement proved too sedate for a person who had spent most of his life absorbed in politics.

Dallek has written a thorough and absorbing book. The narrative is straightforward but never dull, and when the author offers his opinion, it is never intrusive. ''Flawed Giant'' is the follow-up volume to ''Lone Star Rising," which chronicles Johnson's early years.

RONALD LANKFORD lives in Christiansburg.

Youth continue to dream of utopia

Reviewed by MARSHALL FISHWICK

GENERATIONS OF YOUTH: YOUTH CULTURES AND HISTORY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA. Edited by Joe Austin and Michael Willard. New York University Press. Price not given.

PAGE 9

Roanoke Times & World News, September 20, 1998

This book is nothing if not audacious - to cover youth cultures and history for our turbulent 20th century - what a bit to chew! The book is bulky enough - 474 pages with a score of contributing essayists and a 21-page index. Quite a read.

The thesis is simple and straightforward: ''Youth" debates are important forums where new understandings about the past, present and future life are encoded, articulated and contested.

The 26 chapters are arranged chronologically ''to emphasize the necessity of positioning youth within the larger framework of modern U.S. history.'' Young writers have their say, and old barriers are challenged. In this book we see no to only the evolution of youth culture but academia as well.

Consider the two editors. Joe Austin teaches American cultural studies, and Michael Willard is a doctoral candidate in Minnesota's American studies program. Multiculturalism is the key; popular culture is the door. Inside this new room we find zines, bisexuality, hip hop, skate-boarding, Malcolm X's zoot suit, Chicano low riding, powwows, graffiti and spatial mobility.

Consider this account of the Riot Grrls who, like punks and zinesters, want a

new kind of community: ''No Leaders, No Rules, No Permission Asked.'' Ne Tantillo sums it up in Riot Grrl #61/2: ''There is no structure, only what you

build yourself.'' Ah a light comes on. This is not so new after all. Think back

to all those ''utopian visions'' and compounds in 19th-century America (especially in New England); of the various religious break-off faiths that continue well into the 20th century, but do not figure in this anthology; of Henry David Thoreau, moving to Walden so that he could ''live deliberately.''

The language changes and gets much more strident, but the motivation and the yearnings don't change. Can we stretch the case even more and go back to the Republic of Plato? After all, utopia comes from two Greek words - ou and topos - meaning nowhere. Sir Thomas more Anglicized it in his famous work, and we've

But alas, they pop up and disappear, like the morning dew. So what? Why not

dream the impossible dream? Reality will catch up soon enough. Look what happened to the ''wild ones'' and ''crazies'' of the '60s. They ended up on tal k shows or selling Bibles or working for major corporations.

MARSHALL FISHWICK'S latest book is "2001+: The Future of the Millennium.''

Pat Schroeder finally gets a word in

been reinventing our utopias ever since.

Reviewed by BOB SHIELDS

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS OF HOUSEWORK AND THE PLACE IS STILL A MESS. By Pat Schroeder. Andrews McMeel Publishing. \$ 24.95.

Pat Schroeder is that tall, handsome, most Honorable ex-Democratic congresswoman from Colorado. Now retired, she often in her 24 years of service

enlivened what can be a dreary C-SPAN with her acerbic wit and passion. This relatively slim volume reveals her predominant loves - her husband, Jim, who graduated from Harvard Law School with her, and her children.

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Roanoke Times & World News, September 20, 1998

She opens with an acknowledgment: ''There is no 12-step program for recovering politicians, but perhaps there should be. For twenty-four years, everything I wanted to say in Congress had to be shoehorned into one minute, five minutes, whatever time I could persuade the esteemed Gentleman from Massachusetts or Texas or Georgia to yield to me. Such frustration! So much to

say and so little time! I'm grateful to have this chance to complete some thoughts about being one of the few women serving in Congress.''

I suggest you get this book. Schroeder's wit finds its way even into the captions of a generous selection of photos. Under an early photo, for instance,

she wrote, ''Jim and I, clutching the twins, looked at a map and thought Colorado would be a congenial place to live.'' So much for a demographically precise place to settle down.

Schroeder admits that at first she ''approached politics only from the safe perch and vantage point of a classroom, teaching political science and constitutional law first at the University of Colorado and then at Regis College.''

I must share two of Schroeder's more serious thoughts. In the first, she warns, ''Cynicism is the new chic ideology, approaching near epidemic proportions. The word 'cynic' comes from the Greek, and democracy fell in Athen s when a tidal wave of cynicism slammed down and washed it away.''

The other thought comes near the book's end: ''I'm trying to figure out how to alert our society to the importance of reading aloud to our children every day. Most people think it is 'nice' to do, but the research is clear: reading aloud to children is as necessary to their development and to our future as proper nutrition. ... Reading may not have the flash of, say, MTV, but it's clearly the ramp to the 21st century.''

A funny ex-congresswoman is not the oxymoron it may seem, trust me.

BOB SHIELDS is a resident at the Virginia Veterans Care Center in Roanoke.

Reviewed by CHARLES D. BENNETT JR.

A COUNTRY OF STRANGERS By David K. Shipler. Knopf. \$ 30.

David Shipler, a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and professor at Princeton, wondered why black students clustered at one table in the college cafeteria, so

he spent six years finding out. The result of his quest is ''A Country of Strangers,'' where Shipler reveals that even three decades after the turmoil, civil rights laws and court decisions of the 1950s and '60s, blacks and whites

still view each other across a sea of distrust. He concludes that such distrust hurts blacks far more than whites.

The clustering that brought the author to this subject is the natural inclination of everyone to seek the comfort of familiar friends, yet he found that whites sometimes even view black's ''clustering'' as somehow sinister. While blacks are seen by whites as disproportionally involved in drug crime, he

discovered that the perception by whites, especially white police, make it, at

least in part, a self-fulfilling prophesy. According to statistical crime estimates, blacks account for only 13 percent of drug users nationwide, yet mak e

up 35 percent of drug arrests, 55 percent of convictions and 74 percent of

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sentences.

Shipler ends the book by showing that blacks have long understood an unearne d

''white'' advantage, but that whites often don't perceive it, or lose sight of

it while blaming blacks for racial mistrust. He concludes that if a white perso

can perceive and acknowledge these clear but unearned advantages of his white skin, he will then be empowered to communicate, empowered to span this sea of mistrust and reach his black brother.

This is an important book, especially for those of us who recognize the racial gap and search for answers. Shipler brings enormous research and insight to nourish the quest.

CHARLES D. BENNETT JR. is a Roanoke lawyer.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: 1. Motley's book provides perspective on the major civil rights

cases in the 1950s and 1960s. 2. cover of FREEDOM'S CHILD: THE LIFE OF A CONFEDERATE GENERAL'S BLACK DAUGHTER. 3. Lyndon Johnson contemplating his next

move.

TYPE: BOOK REVIEW

LOAD-DATE: September 25, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 4 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 SOFTLINE INFORMATION, INC.
The Ethnic NewsWatch
Emerge

August 30, 1998

SECTION: Vol. 9; No. 9; Pg. 72

LENGTH: 559 words

HEADLINE: Race Battles From a Courtroom

BYLINE: Robinson, Loris S.

BODY:

Race Battles From a Courtroom

BLACK WOMEN ARE COMMONLY undervalued or ignored in the recounting of the Civil Rights Movement. A woman's story powerful enough to enthrall both student s

and survivors of that history is long overdue.

Constance Baker Motley was a key NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund lawyer during its often dangerous battles against segregation. She has penned Equal Justice Under Law, primarily a legal chronicle of African -- Americans' court wars for civil rights. She relates working with some of this century's most impressive, influential thinkers and activists in sometimes life -- threatening circumstances at a time when few Black women were lawyers. But

through it all, one wonders if she could recall her amazing life with any less emotion?

The details are fascinating. Unfortunately, they are reported in a flat, matter -- of -- fact voice. Readers are told what happened instead of shown, told how things felt instead of made to feel them. In fairness, this book's flaws are not her fault. Motley sounds like the lawyer she is. Her life story deserves and needs a good editor. With such detail, her autobiography could have been as riveting as any of that period.

Equal Justice Under Law has some glaring omissions. She shares barely any information about her personal and family life after entering college. Also, he r customary use of legal terms without explanation may distract the uninitiated.

And some language is disappointingly trite. After being refused service at a White grocery store in Jackson, Miss., Motley writes, "I melted in anger. It's a good thing I was not a candle."

Despite its flaws, Equal Justice Under Law is worth reading and adding to the family library for the detailed legal chronology of desegregation alone. Motley also shares priceless nuances of the period: the armed Black men guarding a Birmingham "bomb -- prone abode" she stayed in; the courage it took for Southern African -- Americans just to invite NAACP lawyers to dinner.

Motley provides inestimable snapshots of heroes. She visited Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in a stench -- ridden jail, "the most horrendous experience of my life." She developed a stalwart working relationship with Medgar Evers. And she lived NAACP history, including continual interaction with her boss, Thurgood Marshall, which ultimately reconfigured the nation.

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### The Ethnic NewsWatch, August 30, 1998

Ironically, Motley experienced segregation only once before college. She is the daughter of immigrants from the small Caribbean island of Nevis, and grew up in New Haven, Conn. Her father "had no interest in organizations that purported to advance black people." Neither parent encouraged her to go to college.

But her life has been filled with so many extraordinary circumstances that i t seems almost surreal. Her accomplishments include becoming the first Black woman in the New York State Senate, the first woman Manhattan borough president and the first woman on the federal bench in New York. But it was as a civil rights

lawyer that Motley lived a most courageous, intensely dramatic life. Perhaps most impressive, she tried 10 cases before the United States Supreme Court,

winning all but one.

Constance Baker Motley is a hero deserving a spotlight. Readers beyond students of history and law, however, will view Equal Justice Under Law a dim representation of her life.

ETHNIC-GROUP: African American/Caribbean/African

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 22, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 5 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 The Chronicle Publishing Co.
The San Francisco Chronicle

AUGUST 9, 1998, SUNDAY, SUNDAY EDITION

SECTION: SUNDAY REVIEW; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 755 words

HEADLINE: Judge's Own Story Is a Study of Civil Rights Struggle

BYLINE: REVIEWED BY, Linnea Ashley

BODY:

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

An Autobiography

By Constance Baker Motley

Farrar Straus & Giroux; 400 pages; \$25

As far as textbooks go, "Equal Justice Under Law" is as good as the next. Unfortunately, it comes billed not as a textbook but as an autobiography.

Retired Judge Constance Baker Motley's case-by-case account of integration

from 1896's Plessy vs. Ferguson -- which ushered in the "separate but equal" doctrine -- to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s last triumph, the Voting Rights Act

of 1965, provides a courtside view of America's civil rights movement. And although the book offers a detailed account of Motley's storied legal career, first as an NAACP lawyer and later as an influential U.S. district judge, fails

to chronicle her life with much color or intimacy.

The style of her writing is strictly legal. The text is heavy with detailed accounts of cases that soon enough begin to run together. Personal facts are minimized, or inserted almost as afterthoughts between court victories and

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

setbacks:

The book begins slowly with a chronology, tracing Motley's ances tors from slavery in Nevis to her parents' move to America. She squeezes in her childhood before the onslaught of court cases but includes few insights into how she became one of America's premier jurists.

The most intimate look at her life comes not from her writing but from a collection of photographs in the middle of the book. In them Motley is shown smiling and interacting with friends and family outside the courtroom. These photos offer a more personal view of Motley than we ever receive firsthand.

As soon as Motley documents her graduation from law school, any personal aspect of her story ends. From that point on she focuses on the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund and its champion, future Supreme Court Justice

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The San Francisco Chronicle AUGUST 9, 1998, SUNDAY,

Thurgood Marshall. Occasionally she manages to include interesting tidbits, such as Marshall's temper and initial distaste for King, and these are doubly welcome for their infrequency:

"As he became the focus of media attention, King became a new source of irritation for the NAACP and LDF. His youth and lack of experience and credentials in the civil rights field did not help. Privately, Thurgood resente d
the new rival, whom he viewed as an upstart black minister raising funds for his own benefit."

Throughout, Motley reminds that litigation served its purpose in the civil rights movement just as the nonviolent protests served theirs. She provides a glimpse into the difficulties civil rights lawyers faced in Southern courts while trying to end segregation, whether in representing James Meredith as he tried to enroll at the University of Mississippi or simply appearing before segregationist judges:

"I have never been convinced that he believed blacks had rights that whites were bound to respect," Motley writes of one judge. "I sized him up not as one of the worst federal judges we had to confront (he was always dignified and courteous) but as one who believed that you make promises to black people and do not keep them -- a typical segregationist view."

Even with this context there is no danger of becoming caught up in the way "Equal Justice Under the Law" is written. At various points Motley all but tell s readers that this is a textbook: "(S)uccessful suits against the University of Texas and Oklahoma, discussed in chapter three, provided a new context for a

further legal attack on segregated public schools."

What the book does offer is the chance to understand more fully the way America came to look as it does now -- how Jim Crow died, and what victims it took before it was buried: "We wanted whites to understand that we were seeking not social equality but civil equality -- the right to vote, the right to go to public schools, the right to travel free from state-enforced segregation, and the right to be free from state-sanctioned lynchings and police assaults based on race, all of which were already secured by the post-Civil War amendments to the Constitution and Reconstruction legislation."

Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to glimpse Motley as anything but a lawyer. Her life was filled with drama and action, so it's a shame that she presents it in such a lifeless way, with none of the feeling that could have added to our understanding of a woman who witnessed the beginnings of an Americ a that is still changing today.

Linnea Ashley is a Chronicle reporter.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Constance Baker Motley and James Meredith as they left the New Orleans Federal Courts Building in 1962. Medgar Evers is behind Meredith. / From "Equal Justice Under Law"

LOAD-DATE: August 10, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 6 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

July 21, 1998, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; Pg. D02

LENGTH: 890 words

HEADLINE: A Black Woman's Life, Case by Crucial Case

BYLINE: David Nicholson

BODY:

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

An Autobiography

By Constance Baker Motley

**CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY** 

Farrar Straus Giroux. 282 pp. \$ 25

A staunch warrior of the civil rights movement, Constance Baker Motley was part of that brave cohort whose words and deeds redeemed America by destroying segregation.

As assistant counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Motley helped prepare the briefs in the landmark Brown v. Board of Education case that abolished school desegregation in the United States. Later, she argued scores of desegregation cases throughout the South, among them James Meredith's suit for admission to the University of Mississippi and Charlayne Hunter-Gault's quest to attend the University of Georgia.

Ten of those cases went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Motley won nine.

Hearing her argue before the nation's highest court, Ramsey Clark (then the U.S. attorney general) was so impressed that he persuaded Lyndon B. Johnson to nominate Motley as a federal judge. She was confirmed in 1966 and, 16 years later, became chief judge of the Southern District of New York.

Given that life of achievement (Motley also served in the New York State Senate and as president of the Borough of Manhattan), it would be nice to report that her just-published autobiography, "Equal Justice Under Law," is an enthralling success. Unfortunately, this story of overcoming poverty and racial and sex discrimination is a mixed bag, offering many summaries of the important cases Motley argued but far too little of the woman herself.

The one exception to that last is the beginning of the book, where Motley remembers growing up in New Haven, Conn. She was born there in 1921, the daughter of immigrants from the West Indian island of Nevis who taught her the value of thrift and hard work. They did not, however, encourage her educational ambitions.

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### The Washington Post, July 21, 1998

At 15, Motley tells us, she decided to be a lawyer. "No one thought this was a good idea," she writes, "and I received no encouragement. My mother thought I should be a hairdresser; my father had no thoughts on the subject." Others actively discouraged her because there was "very little opportunity for employment or advancement by blacks or women."

dry accounts of her court cases.

Nonetheless, Motley persevered, rejecting "the notion that my race or sex would bar my success in life." Some of that determination must have been innate, inherited from her parents. But some of it surely must have been induced by the city in which she lived, for the New Haven Motley describes was a nurturing place. Racial discrimination was largely absent and there was a thriving black community that provided many mentors.

Still, she might never have gone to college had it not been for the intervention of Clarence W. Blakeslee, the wealthy owner of "one of the largest construction companies in New England." After hearing her speak at a public meeting, Blakeslee invited her to his office and asked why she had not gone to college. When she replied that "my parents do not have the money," Blakeslee offered to provide it for both college and law school.

So it was that Motley made her way eventually to the NAACP, where she began her career as a legal clerk while still at Columbia University Law School.

Motley's reticence, evident in a distanced retelling of events, increases at that point in the autobiography. Perhaps her emphasis on the professional at the expense of the personal was inevitable, given her New England-Episcopal-West Indian upbringing. Then, too, while the NAACP had an essential role in the fight t for equal rights, the organization fought its battles in the courtroom, a forum that (though it need not be so) offers little opportunity for the dramatic retelling of events here.

But Motley worked closely with important figures such as Thurgood Marshall and Medgar Evers and could have done much to humanize them. Perhaps she felt she would have betrayed confidences to do so. Thus, though she notes Marshall's irascibility ("he could not tolerate the slightest criticism, personal or professional") and his fondness for good times ("those who knew Thurgood knew 'party' was his middle name"), these personal glimpses are quickly followed by

There's much of value here, not least Motley's accounts of what it felt like to argue cases as a black woman. Some white Southerners went to ridiculous lengths to avoid acknowledging her. Lawyers refused her the courtesy of Mrs. and one judge even turned his back to her whenever she spoke! These moments are rare, however, as are passages about her family. Motley's husband, Joel, appear sonly a handful of times in the text and isn't even in the index.

Still, this is a good book to have. The civil rights movement was the last great moral movement in America; the last chance for the nation to live up to its promise and to atone for its often terrible history. There was an energy and optimism in the time that Constance Baker Motley writes about, a sense, too, of

commitment and a belief that it was still possible to change the world. Motley

finishes her book with a tentative optimism about the future. This reader, however, wonders if we shall ever see her like again.

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The Washington Post, July 21, 1998

David Nicholson is a Washington writer whose reviews appear Tuesdays in Style. He can be reached at nicholsdclark.net.

GRAPHIC: Photo, ap, Motley in 1966, when she was nominated to be a federal judge.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 21, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 7 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 Globe Newspaper Company
The Boston Globe

July 12, 1998, Sunday, City Edition

SECTION: BOOKS; Pg. C2

LENGTH: 1140 words

HEADLINE: Laying down the law of civil rights;

BOOK REVIEW / MEMOIR;

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW;

By Constance Baker Motley. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 282 pp.

Illustrated. \$ 25.

Amy Alexander is a Cambridge writer and editor of "The Farrakhan Factor," a collection of essays by black writers.

BYLINE: By Amy Alexander

BODY:

Before the marches and demonstrations of the 1960s, the battle for civil rights in the Deep South was waged, with little fanfare, in the courtroom. Ten

years before the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolent tactics drew the world's attention to the struggle for racial equality in America, the legal front was led by a dedicated group of middle-class black lawyers, including Thurgood Marshall and Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the decades since, the dedication of these me

has been canonized in numerous books. Missing from all but the most comprehensive accounts of this era are stories of the women involved. Coretta Scott King and Myrlie Evers are probably the best-known women from this era, bu

the life and work of one woman who served on the front line of the legal battle has largely been overlooked.

In "Equal Justice Under Law," we at last hear from Constance Baker Motley, a formidable lawyer and jurist who not only helped steer the massive legal push for civil rights, but who also blazed a trail that allowed women such as Sandra Day O'Connor and Ruth Bader Ginsburg to become the first women to serve on the US Supreme Court. Motley was a key figure in the crucial cases leading up to the civil rights movement of the early 1960s, including the 1954 landmark school-desegregation case Brown v. Board of Education. Moreover, she was chief counsel on the desegregation case against the University of Mississippi. She was the first woman elected a borough president in New York (in Manhattan, in the mid-1960s); the first African-American woman named to the federal bench; and one of the first women to argue cases before the Supreme Court (10 cases, nine of which were disposed in her favor).

With unsentimental clarity and a dry voice, Motley recounts her life and the period between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s when legal skirmishes over separate-but-equal public facilities set the stage for the roiling civil rights

campaigns that brought an end to legalized segregation. The lawyerly reserve that stood her well in her professional life will leave Motley's readers guessing as to the personal characteristics that allowed her to triumph in an arena where few women - let alone black women - succeeded. We learn much about

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### The Boston Globe, July 12, 1998

legal technicalities and a few behind-the-scenes tidbits about the personalities involved in some of our most important civil rights cases, but next to nothing about the woman whom the late Justice William O. Douglas placed among the top 1 0 lawyer-advocates to appear before him.

Motley's story is a telling examination of how race, class, and gender issue s have only lately come to the forefront of discourse. For this black New Englander, now in her 70s, who became chief judge for the US District Court for the Southern District of New York, her sex, race, and economic standing have been a constant framework of experience.

"When I was about fifteen, I decided I wanted to be a lawyer," Motley writes .

"No one thought this was a good idea, and I received no encouragement. My mothe r thought I should be a hairdresser; my father had no thoughts on the subject."

Motley was born in New Haven, the daughter of immigrants from the island of Nevis. Her father, like many Caribbean blacks in New Haven at the time, worked

in service jobs at Yale University. He was, Motley writes, disdainful of American-born blacks, who he believed were "generally lazy, no good, undisciplined, and lacking middle-class values."

By the time Constance Baker graduated from high school, she had vowed to turn her intelligence and social position to furthering the progress of all blacks in America. And she married an African-American, Joel Motley, despite her father's wish that she wed a West Indian. Their union has lasted 50 years, Motley tells us, though she provides little other information about it. When she decided to go to college, her parents informed her she'd have to pay her own way or earn scholarships to attend. A rich Connecticut businessman heard her speak one night at a local youth civic league and offered to pay her way to Fisk University in Nashville. Motley transferred to New York University in 1942, earned a degree in economics, then enrolled at Columbia University Law School.

In 1945, Motley got a job at the NAACP Legal Defense Fund in New York. As with many women who entered the work force during this period, Motley found that the was highly desirable in agencies that had previously hired women only as secretaries or stenographers. The friend who tipped her off about the NAACP job informed her that the organization was looking for a clerk. By the time she finished her law degree, she was becoming a reliable presence in the LDF office

Her relationship with Thurgood Marshall appears to have been of the classic mentor-student variety. Motley recalls the lawyer's famously informal demeanor, and says that he set her at ease during their first meeting by telling her stories of other women lawyers he'd worked with in the past. "Casualness was his trademark," Motley writes of her first meeting with Marshall. "He eschewed all manner of formality and demanded that everyone in his presence do likewise."

Yet beyond a few anecdotes about Marshall's temper and his penchant for celebrating courtroom victories with rollicking office parties, we learn little

about how such a complex individual managed to pull off important legal victories against seemingly insurmountable odds. Nevertheless, Marshall was an

able mentor, and Motley says he helped her learn the nuts and bolts of civil rights litigation. By the early 1950s, Motley's responsibilities had grown to include helping Marshall, White, and Roy Wilkins on dozens of cases that led to

the death of Jim Crow laws.

The Boston Globe, July 12, 1998

As recently as 50 years ago, many parts of the United States still operated under the separate-but-equal doctrine established in the 1896 Supreme Court decision Plessy v. Ferguson, which allowed states to skirt the 14th Amendment's equal-protection requirement. Motley points out that much has changed for black Americans in a relatively short period of time. "All of the present social and economic turmoil in the country notwithstanding, the fact remains that blacks have equal legal status," Motley writes.

But, as a trenchant observer of the debate over affirmative action, Motley also warns that things are far from ideal where race relations and the courts are concerned. She calls former President Bush's nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court "the most cynical move made in the area of race relations since Plessy," and wonders if we're "doomed to fight the same legal battles again." Coming as they do from one of the architects of our hard-won legal equality, these are chilling words indeed.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Judge Motley in her chambers. / PHOTO FROM THE BOOK

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 14, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 8 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 Times Mirror Company
Los Angeles Times

July 6, 1998, Monday, Home Edition

SECTION: Life & Style; Part E; Page 4; View Desk

LENGTH: 661 words

HEADLINE: BOOK REVIEW / MEMOIRS;

FIGHTING SEGREGATION, ONE TRIAL AT A TIME;

EQUAL JUSTICE . . . UNDER LAW: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY BY CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY;

FARRAR, STRAUS & GIROUX \$25, 282 PAGES

BYLINE: ANTHONY DAY, SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

BODY:

Constance Baker Motley's modestly written memoir illuminates a crucial fragment of American history that is at risk of being outshone in the public memory by later, more dramatic events.

Motley, now a senior judge who is a former chief judge of the U.S. District Court in Manhattan, presents in "Equal Justice . . . Under Law" the hard-slogging work of the handful of lawyers, mostly black like her, who, with the agreement of sympathetic white judges, began to dismantle the judicial framework for racial segregation in America in the 1950s.

The first shots in the long war were fired by the Legal Defense and Education Fund, founded by the NAACP in 1940. The fund was then the only force in the field. Its leader was Thurgood Marshall.

Into this then-small and little-known organization Motley, not yet married to the real estate man whose name she took, came as a Columbia Law School student in 1945.

She would go on to work for the fund on the Brown vs. Board of Education case, in which the Supreme Court in 1954 began to dismantle segregated public schools. She worked on numerous other cases that sought to desegregate the South, and along the way, she argued 10 cases before the Supreme Court. She was

chief counsel to James Meredith in his long fight to enter the University of Mississippi and thereby desegregate Ole Miss.

After this career, Motley served a short time as Manhattan borough president, and then President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded her a seat on the federal district court in New York. But the tale she tells of her early life is perhaps for modern readers the most interesting part of her story. For she speaks of an America so close in time, yet irrevocably distant in manners and morals.

Not that Motley is nostalgic. Now 76, she knows too well what the old Americ a was like. After telling a story of being rudely condescended to by a young whit e elevator attendant in Manhattan just after she was named a federal judge (this

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Los Angeles Times July 6, 1998, Monday,

was 1966!), she observes tartly, "There are people who long for the good old days. I do not."

Her own good old days were spent in New Haven, Conn., to which her mother and defather had immigrated from Nevis in the West Indies. Her parents, fourth-generation Anglicans from the days of slavery, were part of the small group of West Indian immigrants in New Haven (many of whom worked as servants at Yale University) who looked down on American blacks. In her family, education was paramount, and excellence in deportment was expected.

She wanted to go to college, but there was no money. A rich, white New Haven contractor, Clarence W. Blakeslee, decided to finance her education after

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hearing the 19-year-old Motley speak out about the needs of New Haven's black community at a neighborhood meeting. He paid for her to go to Fisk, the Negro college in Nashville.

When she changed trains at Cincinnati, she encountered legal Jim Crow for the efirst time; south of the Ohio River, she had to ride in an "older and rustier"

car that said "Colored." Segregation on the rails was sanctioned by the 1896 Supreme Court decision in Plessy vs. Ferguson that approved the "separate but equal" formula which would last until Brown vs. Board of Education.

Her experience, including the railroad, was startlingly like that of another reserved New England black, W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois was sent to Fisk 55 years earlier on subscriptions raised by a Congregationalist preacher in Great Barrington, Mass.

If Motley stints her career as a politician and a judge in "Equal Justice," the reader gains by the insight she provides into the now-vanished world of her childhood and the sheer drudgery of the fund's attack on segregation. Its attack was narrowly focused on public education, the better to win agreement. Its leaders did not imagine the direct action of the later sit-ins and marches.

Nor did they, Motley says, have any idea about the extent of the social revolution that they had begun.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: (E1) BOOK REVIEW: A black judge recalls life before desegregation and her role in landmark court cases. E4

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: July 6, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 9 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 American Lawyer Newspapers Group, Inc.
The American Lawyer

July, 1998 / August, 1998

SECTION: Books; Pg. 47

LENGTH: 1867 words

HEADLINE: A Forgettable Memoir

BYLINE: Randall Kennedy

BODY:

This Month's Review

Equal Justice Under law: An Autobiography

**CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY** 

by Constance Baker Motley

(New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998;282 pages; \$25)

Constance Baker Motley is one of the few women attorneys who served on the front lines of civil rights litigation during the 1950s and 1960s, the first black woman in the New York State Senate, and the first black woman appointed to

the federal judiciary. She is a person of remarkable dignity with a keen sense

of justice that has shone brightly throughout a long, distinguished career, during which she has encountered numerous obstacles that would have stymied a person of lesser character. In the South, some judges and lawyers balked at referring to her as Mrs. Motley or Attorney Motley, since, not so long ago, blacks were typically denied such titles of address. Up north she also encountered entrenched prejudice, albeit of a softer sort. In the mid-1960s, for

example, she dined with judicial colleagues at their traditional venue, the men-only Century Club -- and learned later that the only reason she was allowed

to attend is because a colleague told club officials that she was a secretary whose presence was needed for note-taking.

Motley's adult life can usefully be divided into three acts. The first and most significant is framed by her work as an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. After graduating from Columbia University School of Law, she joined the illustrious cadre of civil rights attorneys who, during the

1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, relentlessly attacked racial segregation, producing Brown v. Board of Education, among other major legal landmarks. Her colleagues

included Thurgood Marshall (the nation's first black U.S. Supreme Court justice), Robert Carter (a central but underappreciated black attorney in the civil rights revolution who, like Motley, sits on the federal bench in New York), and Jack Greenberg (the extraordinary white lawyer who, to the consternation of many black activists, succeeded Marshall as head of the Legal

Defense Fund). Her clients included Martin Luther King, Jr., James Meredith (the first black to attend the University of Mississippi), and scores of others who sought either to escape the clutches of racist law enforcement or to challenge the legitimacy of white supremacist policies and customs.

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Motley practiced her craft in a wide variety of forums. On occasion she argued, typically with success, before the Supreme Court. On other occasions she appeared before judges who turned their backs on her to signal their disapproval of her very presence in their courtrooms. She journeyed to rural jails to visit clients confined in frighteningly primitive conditions, and she conferred with

clients -- such as Medgar Evers, the legendary leader of the NAACP in Mississippi -- who lived with the knowledge that they would likely be murdered

or seriously injured. Motley recalls that on one of her last visits to the Ever

household, she warned him about some bushes near his home that might provide cover to an assassin -- a warning that tragically anticipated his death at the

hands of a homicidal segregationist.

The other two acts in Motley's career, though less exciting than the first, are nonetheless notable. Between 1964 and 1966 she served as a New York state senator and Manhattan borough president. Then, in 1966, after President Lyndon

Johnson failed in his efforts to put Motley on the U.S. Court of Appeals, she was confirmed to a seat on the district court, where she sits today.

Given that Judge Motley, under the right conditions, could undoubtedly impar t to a memoir considerable knowledge and insight gathered from her experiences, i t is saddening to report that her autobiography, Equal Justice Under Law, egregiously shortchanges its subject. The book reads like a rough draft in need

of close attention that it never received. It is filled with numerous bits of random, extraneous information that distract rather than enlighten -- for example, the fact that Motley's brother, Maxwell, "was not drafted because he had rheumatic fever when he was younger" and that this illness "left him with a

stiff arm"; or that her sister Marion married "David Green, a local man, and had

two children, Antoinette and David, and one daughter, Victoria Woods, by a previous marriage"; or that her brother Edward "does not spend a lot of money on

clothes, although he is always neatly dressed."

Another, much deeper problem is that Judge Motley omits information or opinions that, under the circumstances, a reader legitimately expects her to offer. A potentially fascinating figure in Motley's memoir is her father, Willoughby Alva Baker, who was born on the small Caribbean island of Nevis and

emigrated as a young man to New Haven, where Motley grew up. According to Motley, her father, though black himself, largely shunned black Americans because he viewed them as typically "lazy, no good, undisciplined, and lacking

middle-class values." Any attentive reader will want to know how her father's antiblack (and patriarchal) biases affected Judge Motley's attitudes and career

Unfortunately, however, Motley is woefully inattentive to these and related questions. Having spent a considerable amount of time and space at the beginning

of her autobiography describing her family milieu in childhood, Motley almost completely ignores that milieu in her discussion of her development as an attorney, politician, and judge.

She is similarly silent with respect to her husband, child, and the difficulties of balancing professional imperatives and familial obligations -- a significant omission given the centrality of this dilemma in the lives of women

in the professions. At one point, Motley makes the arresting observation that, despite her pioneering career and the sexist obstacles she encountered, she "had no particular attachment to the . . . women's rights movement." One might think that such a statement would, of course, be followed by some sort of explanation . Yet here, as elsewhere, such expectations are dashed.

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Equal Justice Under Law does offer some information that, if substantiated,

will usefully contribute to a better understanding of American legal and political culture in the twentieth century. She maintains, for example, that the

reason that Thurgood Marshall chose Jack Greenberg to succeed him as head of the

NAACP Legal Defense Fund is that Marshall believed that Robert Carter and some

of the other black attorneys on his staff had schemed to remove the Grand Old Man from his position. Marshall selected Greenberg as "payback," Motley writes

-- a story that, if true, opens up new avenues for discussion about the interna l racial politics of the civil rights bar.

Motley recalls (albeit too superficially) her own dissatisfactions at the Legal Defense Fund, difficulties she encountered during confirmation proceedings, and slights she received from judicial colleagues who treated her

(and other black judges) with distinctly less respect than similarly situated white judges. She also complains that, after she had served a substantial stint

as a district judge, a screening committee found her unqualified for elevation

to the court of appeals, and that when she became chief judge of the district court, "some younger judges went crazy." This information and her reactions to

it are valuable, though her comments would have been much more so had she explained and rebutted the views of her detractors rather than simply assuming

that readers would somehow intuit the erroneousness of her critics.

The most puzzling deficiency in Equal Justice Under Law is that Motley inexplicably omits any substantive discussion of her work as a judge. As a member of one of the busiest federal benches in the country, Motley has resolve d

some interesting disputes. Two are particularly noteworthy. First, in 1970 she

issued a ruling that deserves an honored place in the literature of prison reform. In Martin Sostre v. Nelson A. Rockefeller et al., Judge Motley awarded

punitive and compensatory damages, as well as injunctive relief, to a militant  $\cdot$ 

Black Muslim who had been viciously abused by officials who resented both his

political views and his advocacy for himself and other prisoners. Second, in 1975, in Blank v. Sullivan & Cromwell, she presided over a civil rights class action in which a woman sued a law firm for allegedly having engaged in illegal gender discrimination in the hiring of attorneys. The firm's counsel requested that Judge Motley recuse herself from the case on the grounds that "she strongl identified with those who suffered discrimination in employment because of sex or race" -- a request that the judge denied. That Motley mentions neither of these cases -- or any other case over which she presided -- robs her memoir of much of its potential interest. Her neglect of Blank is particularly regrettabl insofar as it raises a host of questions that a reader should rightly expect Judge Motley to address in some considered fashion. One question is whether black or women judges should shoulder different obligations in carrying out their judicial duties -- obligations related to their association with historically disadvantaged groups -- than the obligations that white male judge shoulder. One might have thought that Motley is uniquely well-positioned to hel the bar and the public think wisely about the new dilemmas confronting a legal establishment that will, one hopes, continue to become more integrated in terms of gender and race. Alas, Equal Justice Under Law sheds little light on this subject.

Constance Baker Motley is an honorable, admirable, and historic figure. The dramatic and inspiring story of her life is promising terrain for biography. That her autobiography is so lacking in sustained reflection on the persons, events, and institutions that she has been privileged to influence is cause for disappointment and sadness.

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The American Lawyer July, 1998 / August, 1998

Randall Kennedy is a professor at Harvard Law School and the author of Race, Crime, and the Law.

New Titles: In Brief

The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom by John T. Noonan, Jr.

(University of California Press; \$35)

Religious freedom is not only central to U.S. history, but also one of this country's most important contributions to the world, argues a federal appellate judge.

Reading People: How to Understand People and Predict Their Behavior -- Anytime, Anyplace

by Jo-Ellan Dimitrius and Mark Mazzarella

(Random House; \$23.95)

O.J. Simpson's jury consultant shares tips on sizing up other people.

The Man Who Once Was Whizzer White: A Portrait of Justice Byron R. White

by Dennis J. Hutchinson

(The Free Press; \$30)

A biography of the football star and Supreme Court justice.

King of the Mountain: The Rise, Fall, and Redemption of Chief Judge Sol Wachtler

by John M. Caher

(Prometheus Books; \$26.95)

An account of Sol Wachtler's distinguished career as New York's chief appellate judge and its spectacular end when he was caught stalking and harassing his ex-mistress..'

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: July 15, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 10 OF 11 STORIES

Copyright 1998 New York Law Publishing Company New York Law Journal

June 25, 1998, Thursday

SECTION: THE LAWYER'S BOOKSHELF; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 1573 words

HEADLINE: Equal Justice Under Law: An Autobiography

BYLINE: REVIEWED BY DANIEL R. WILLIAMS; Daniel R. Williams is a partner in the

firm of Moore & Williams LLP specializing in trial and appellate work.

BODY:

By Constance Baker Motley. Farrar, Straus and Giroux Inc., New York, N.Y. 282 pages. \$ 25.

The black civil rights struggle in this country is the most momentous, and yet least appreciated, aspect of U.S. history. Founding these United States was

no doubt arduous, but extirpating the penetrating disease of racism, at least in its most overt manifestations, was a formidable task that pitted the poorest and most disenfranchised Americans against the institutional power structures of our society.

The conundrum of race remains with us. As Judge Constance Baker Motley says in her new autobiography, Equal Justice Under Law, "a century of struggle for equality for black Americans has paid off, in large measure." Yet, as we go int the 21st century, the struggle to cure our society from the sickness of racism remains the defining task for us and our children. Thus, despite the victories against de jure segregation, Judge Motley warns us that the 21st century may be an "even more turbulent period in our race-relations history."

Judge Motley, through her autobiography, now adds her voice to the mounting literature on the historic struggles against de jure segregation -- and thus, by extension, the struggles against racism. Recently, we have seen the publication of Taylor Branch's second volume of his massive study of the civil rights movement, Pillars of Fire. David Halberstam's new book, The Children, is a marvelously moving account of the civil rights movement from the perspective of the young people who waged the war at the front lines. Memoirs from activists of the 1950s and 1960s keep popping up in bookstore display windows.

Just four years ago, Jack Greenberg, the past director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF), wrote a valuable inside account of LDF entitled Crusaders in the Courts, which covers much of the same ground as Judge Motley's autobiography. And of course, there is the indispensable classic by Richard Kluger, Simple Justice. But with all of these voices from what many sadly believe to be a bygone era, the question arises, what can we learn from these voices, these warriors for equality? How do their struggles, and ultimately their passions for justice, affect us as we proceed deeper into this technological age?

The beauty of books like Equal Justice, and the reason they deserve our respect, is that they are acts of faith. Judge Motley, like these other

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# New York Law Journal, June 25, 1998

authors and memoirists, believes that her story, that her confrontation with the great evil in our national heritage, can inspire those who love justice to continue the struggle. This faith shines through the pages of the author's steady account of her work as an LDF litigator.

Judge Motley's experience in LDF, like that of Greenberg, literally tracks

the history of the legal battles waged against de jure segregation (which is precisely why this autobiography inevitably duplicates much of what is containe d in Greenberg's history of LDF). Although the book covers other aspects of her rich life (such as her stint as Manhattan Borough President and as a federal judge), Judge Motley's principal focus on her work fighting segregation as an LDF lawyer is understandable and worthwhile, for such an experience would likely eclipse most any other activity of a lawyer.

Judge Motley is one of 12 children of parents who immigrated from Nevis, British West Indies. She began with LDF when she was still a Columbia Law School student, and her primary mission, in a nutshell, was to chip away at Plessy v. Ferguson, where the Supreme Court's "separate but equal" pronouncemen t sanctified de jure apartheid in the south.

Regrettably, even educated citizens today too often harbor the misguided perception that the legal victories against American apartheid, particularly the crowning achievement of Brown v. Board of Education, were the product of some inexorable historical moment, rather than the enormous sacrifice by extraordinary heroes like Constance Baker Motley. Her book ought to be read, if for nothing else, to rectify that misperception. For the soul of a nation is intertwined with the memories of its people, and in this sense, books like Equal Justice are recorded memories, and thus vital to the inner strength and moral worthiness of our society.

The author's passionate struggles as an LDF lawyer exposed how frail was the Supreme Court's call for ending school desegration with "all deliberate speed." Too often this meant "any conceivable delay," and lawyers like Judge Motley had to fight against the unconscionable resistance to legally-mandated integration by state and federal judges. The bulk of Judge Motley's personal history is devoted to this aspect of her work, and rightly so.

The highlight of her lawyering, at least from this reviewer's perspective, is her representation of James Merédith, the courageous man who sought entry into Ole Miss. After losing the claim of discrimination in federal district court, Judge Motley appealed to the Fifth Circuit and won a reversal. But that did no tend the matter. Mississippi was intent on defying the authority of the federal government, which meant that the author and her LDF colleagues were at the vortex of an impending constitutional crisis. Few lawyers experience legal trench warfare on this scale and with such intensity, all of which makes this book fascinating reading.

Equal Justice has its disappointments, however. One longs for more personal and intimate accounts of historical events so as to give the reader a "feel" fo

the scene, much the way Halberstam and Branch do so well in their books. Too much of Judge Motley's story is detached narration of events, as if this were merely a cataloguing of events from an insider's perspective. This detachment is particularly evident not because the book is devoid of intimate details, but precisely because the reader gets a taste of Judge Motley's ability to provide them, which then provokes a yearning for more.

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For example, in perhaps the most stunning moment in the book, Judge Motley describes what it was like to visit Dr. Martin Luther King and Rev. Ralph Abernathy in a Georgia jail. When she first entered the jail, she "instantly ran back out, overcome by the stench." Mustering up the courage to go back, she visited King and Abernathy in their 4 X 6-foot cell, where the 100 degrees heat was stifling, the yelling and moaning by other prisoners oppressive and the food downright inedible (which probably explains why King usually fasted when he was in jail). Judge Motley sums up the experience bluntly: "My visit to the jail was the most horrendous experience of my life."

This account of visiting King and Abernathy in jail, more than anything else, brings home why Dr. King and the other heroes of the civil rights movement deserve our reverence. Taking us into that jail cell, Judge Motley tells us more about King the man than all his eloquent sermons and the annual celebrator Y speeches praising the King mythology.

The reader will find a similar experience in the author's personal account of her work with Medgar Evers, the NAACP representative in Mississippi who was gunned down by an assassin. Medgar Evers' grace under unbelievable pressure and omnipresent danger can only be appreciated by encountering firsthand accounts of his courage such as that provided in this book.

Given Judge Motley's unique position to provide inside accounts of historica levents, one wishes that her book contained more descriptive moments. This is especially so when she talks of Thurgood Marshall, the most celebrated of the LDF lawyers. The reader gets a smattering of anecdotes that suggests that Marshall was both short-tempered and festive, but one comes away still not knowing the man.

Another glaring instance of inadequate treatment in the book is the failure to discuss in more detail the relationships of the NAACP and LDF to other civil rights organizations, most notably, SCLC and SNCC. What was it like at the LDF

staff meetings where debates raged over how to handle the arrests arising from the student sit-ins, the Freedom Rides and the other "street" demonstrations that were the hallmark of Dr. King's grassroots liberation movement? Few know that these events were not uniformly applauded by civil rights activists. How the quarrels over the varying tactics to undermine segregation were resolved or otherwise handled could provide valuable lessons for activists in the future who will be facing similar disputes among competing organizations fighting for the same goals. Unfortunately, Judge Motley chose not to offer guidance on this front.

But in the end, this autobiography gives us much to mull over. For those to o young to have experienced this remarkable period in our history, Judge Motley's sharing of her memories of people and places deepens our appreciation

of the civil rights struggle, and thereby deepens our own commitment to fight on

for justice. Judge Motley's personal history is a history that we must all understand, lest we continue to suffer from the corrosive effects of racism. But even more importantly, her book teaches us that engagement in the great "agonies of the times," as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once put it, is the foundation to a life well lived. And for that lesson, Judge Motley's book is more than worth the price of admission.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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New York Law Journal, June 25, 1998

LOAD-DATE: July 6, 1998

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LEVEL 2 - 11 OF 11 STORIES

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THE HARTFORD COURANT

June 7, 1998 Sunday, BULLDOG

SECTION: TOWN NEWS EXTRA; Pg. H1

LENGTH: 766 words

HEADLINE: UNRAVELING A LITTLE BIT OF CHESTER'S HISTORY

BYLINE: Claudia Van Nes

BODY:

Constance Baker Motley is a lawyer who tried some of the most pivotal civil rights cases in this country, including the litigation that admitted James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. She argued 10 cases before the U.S.

Supreme Court, winning nine; she was the first black woman appointed a federal judge; she has 29 honorary degrees from universities, including Yale, Princeton and Brown; her autobiography was just published.

Her hands were on the tiller of this country, and she steered it in the right direction. Her landmark work in civil rights assures she will be read about in history books from now on.

She lives in Chester.

We other Chester residents are pretty cocky about this because if someone like Judge Motley chose Chester then it's got to be an interesting place to live. Right?

The other night Judge Motley, now 77 and still living in the colonial home she and her husband, Joel, bought 32 years ago on Cedar Lake Road, was the speaker at a Historical Society meeting.

She stood in front of us the quintessential judge -- tall and powerful-looking with chiseled features and a low voice rumbling like distant thunder. She looked like a statue carved from some precious dark rock when she started and an hour later, she was the grandmother you always wanted.

Motley had some important messages to deliver, but along the way she also proved Chester is indeed an interesting town.

More intriguing by far, though, was how she discovered it was interesting.

This she did through records in the town halls of Chester, Deep River and Guilford mainly. What led Motley into these town vaults was a seven-year search for the true builder of her house -- a search similar to that conducted by many historical society members.

I did one myself on the house where we used to live, which is not too far from the Motleys' home and built, like theirs, before the Revolutionary War. What I didn't find in the records is the stuff Motley uncovered.

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# THE HARTFORD COURANT, June 7, 1998

The paths she chose to take through these town hall vaults, the way she stuck to it, the way she could sort the significant from the not and her high level of curiosity is why Motley was able to achieve so much in her life.

Here's a few of the things Motley found on her search through old records:

\* In a small, hard-cover black book in the Deep River Town Hall is a list of the "poor people" who were sold in the 1700s, and for how much. Because the letter "s" was written like an "f" back then, Motley thought she must be readin g wrong. "It said, 'The poor will be sold to. . .' and I'd never heard poor people were sold. I thought maybe it was 'fold to' though that didn't make much sense," she recalls.

Further research proved to Motley that poor people were actually sold and no t to the highest bidder, but the lowest!

- \* Town minutes from 1826 show a tax was levied on every Chester resident to raise money for a poorhouse, says Motley, whose search for the builder of her home took so long because information such as the construction of a town poorhouse "kept grabbing me along the way," she says.
- \* Wills were probated prior to 1787 in Guilford, which led Motley to that town's vault where she found a letter on a shelf from "the authorities in Saybrook to the sheriff of Haddam" informing him legal action would be taken because it had come to Saybrook's attention slaves were beaten in the public square in Haddam.

"This might have been the very first indictment brought up in these parts," speculates Motley.

- \* The will of a woman buried in the cemetery at Cedar Lake in Chester in 179 5 shows that she freed three slaves upon her death. What the slave owner left these women besides their freedom was one spinning wheel, "the clothes on their back and the bolster on the bed."
- \* Not many people were listed in the Chester 1850 census "but then, there never have been many people in Chester. We don't seem to attract a crowd," Motley muses. However, in that census if you were of Irish descent it was noted in parenthesis alongside your name, she found.
- $\star$  In 1837, an abolitionist society was formed in Chester, Motley found, which lasted two decades.
- \* And Motley discovered who really built her house -- finally. It was always known in town as the Bushnell House, because a man named Bushnell built it, the Motleys were told by everyone. Actually, John Douglas built the place in 1745, Motley proved after seven years of digging around.

"That's the kind of person I am, I guess. I just won't let anything beat me, "
she says.

Lucky for Chester -- and for the rest of the country.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

~...**..** 

THE HARTFORD COURANT, June 7, 1998

COLUMN: Folks' Tales

LOAD-DATE: June 8, 1998

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 54 STORIES

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The Richmond Times Dispatch

June 4, 2000, Sunday, CITY EDITION

SECTION: COMMENTARY, Pg. F-2

LENGTH: 729 words

HEADLINE: THIS WORLDWIDE SCHOOL LUNCH IDEA MIGHT CATCH ON

BYLINE: Marsha Mercer; Marsha Mercer covers the White House for Media General News; Service. Write her at 1214 National Press Building, Washington, DC; 20045

or send e-mail to; mmercer@media-general.com

#### BODY:

If you caught any of the National Nutrition Summit last week, it probably was when an irate vegetarian smashed Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman with a tofu cream pie.

"Shame on you for promoting meat!" the protester screamed.

The zany attack-by-pie made the news, but it wasn't the most interesting thing that happened at the conference.

That moment came when former Sen. George S. McGovern proposed providing lunc h for every hungry child on the planet.

Specifically, "a school lunch every day for every child in the world," McGovern said.

"It's an ambitious undertaking, but it is one that is well within reach of the international community" with the United States at the helm, he said.

The idea is to use America's school lunch program as a global model to feed as many as 300 million hungry children a day.

This might sound like pie in the sky, but it's getting serious attention. After a meeting with McGovern last month, President Clinton authorized Glickman to check out the proposal.

McGovern and Clinton go way back. McGovern was the Democratic presidential nominee in 1972, when he met an aspiring politician named Bill Clinton. Clinton

was a McGovern organizer in Texas, and the two became friends.

Today, spry at 77, McGovern has one of the administration's plum assignments as ambassador to the U.N. Food and Agricultural Agencies in Rome. He calls his quest to persuade the United States to lead a worldwide child-feeding program through the U.N. "the most personally gratifying task of my life."

McGovern said Clinton spent about an hour hearing McGovern plead his case an d found it "very exciting," although he wasn't ready to commit to it.

Glickman, who also attended the White House meeting, said the president instructed him to "flesh the idea out."

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The Richmond Times Dispatch, June 4, 2000

He told those at the nutrition conference, "The president gave us a green light to go out and develop this program."

It wouldn't be the first time someone came away from a meeting with Clinton thinking the president was on board with an idea only to see it sink like a stone later.

On the other hand, global school lunch would be a presidential legacy that feeds the world. An edible legacy: Now that's a concept.

Imagine a video of Clinton and Al Gore on a green hillside with a bunch of fresh-faced youngsters in native garb all singing, "I'd like to teach the world to .\*.\*. eat." Beautiful.

In a country with a 10,000 Dow and a 55 percent obesity rate, getting enough food seems an antiquated worry. It's easy to forget that many Americans still need help getting the food they need.

Even in these boom times, one in six Americans receives food stamps, school lunches, supplemental foods from the Women, Infants and Children program, or Meals on Wheels.

The Agriculture Department subsidizes lunches for 27 million American schoolchildren, including 15 million who get free or reduced-price meals.

Not everyone who is eligible receives help. The government estimates that while 17 million people a year receive food stamps, another 10 million are eligible but don't participate.

The world has about 800 million school-age children. Of these, about 300 million in the developing world face malnutrition, including about 150 million girls who don't go to school, McGovern said.

School lunch could be